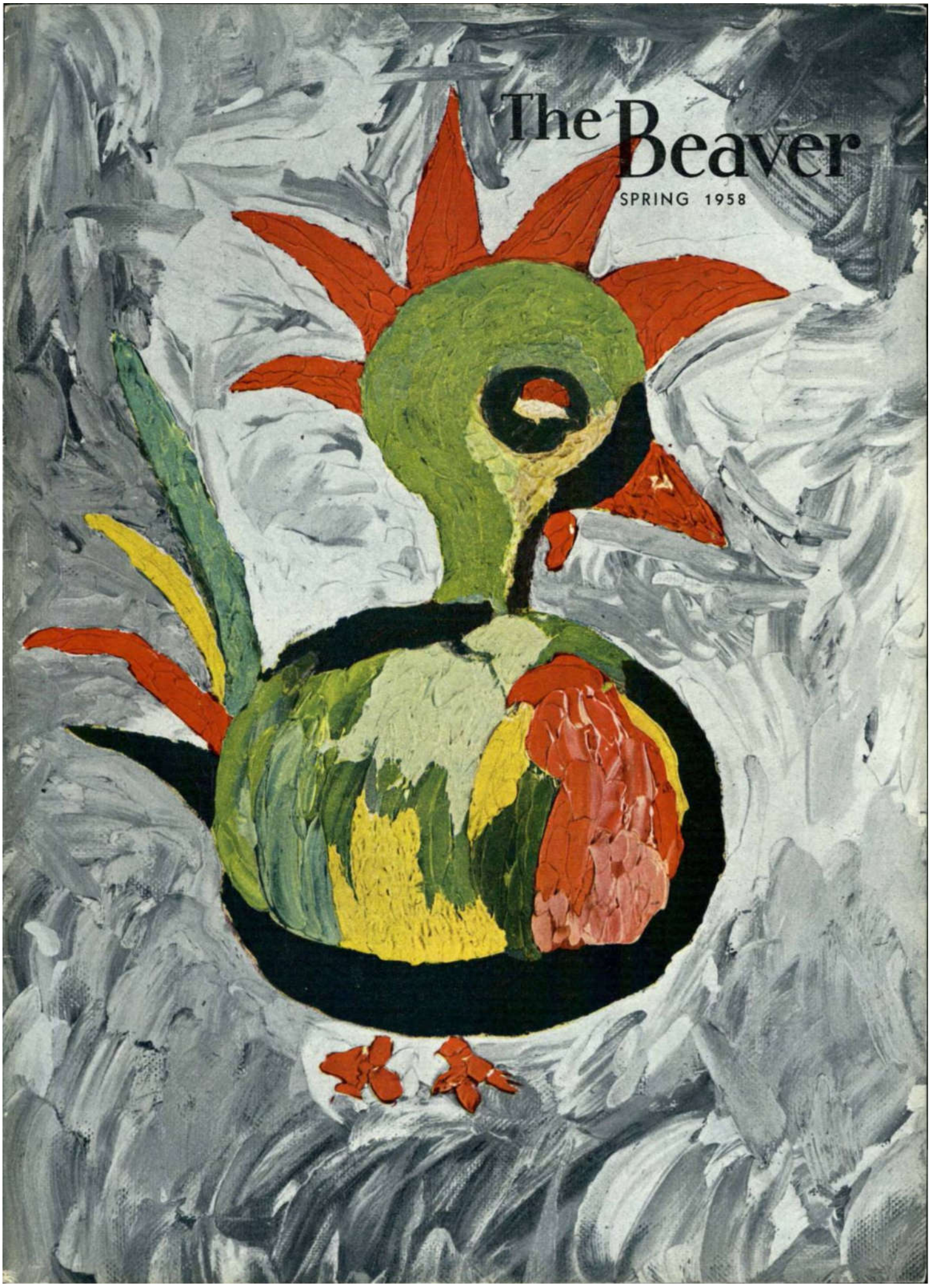
The Beaver
SPRING 1958

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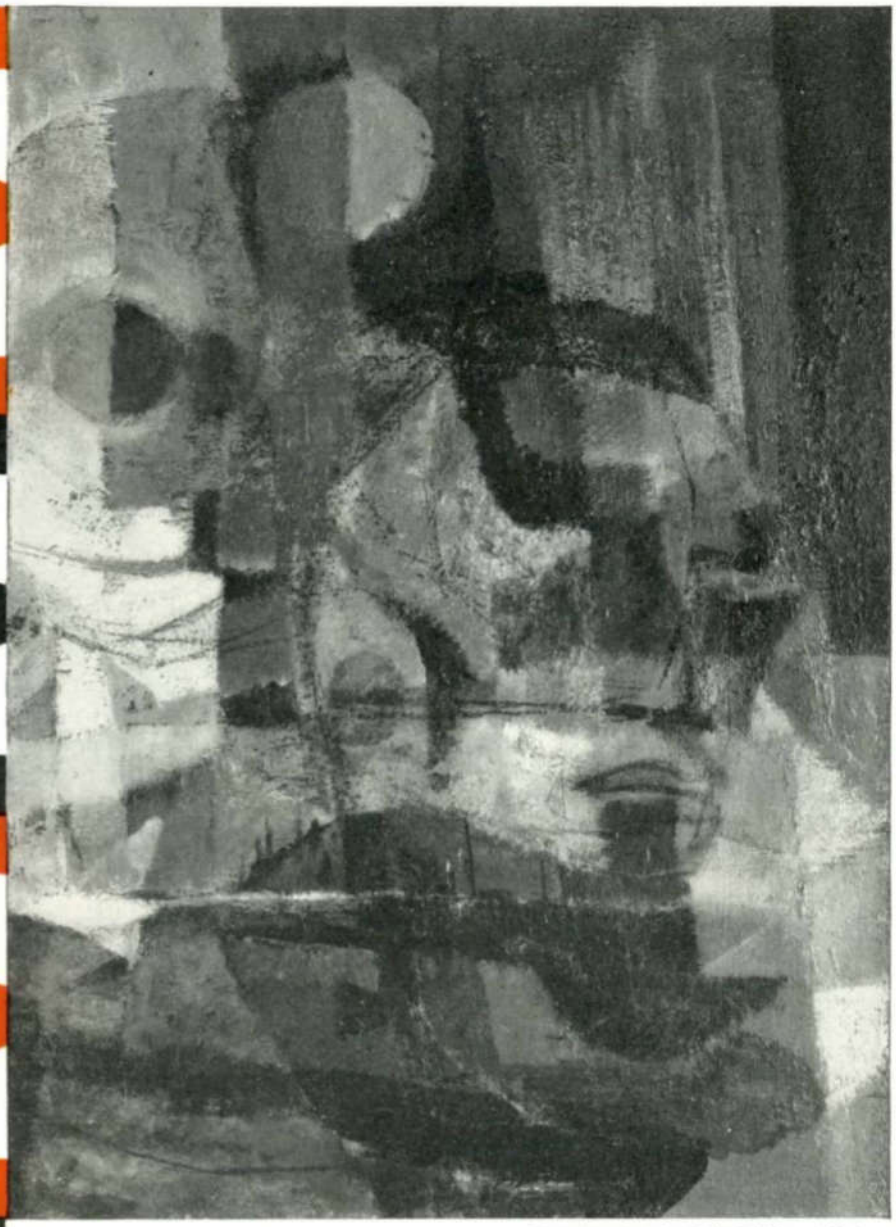
Hudson's Bay Company.
INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670



From the painting by R. York Wilson, R.C.A.

Some Account of MATONABBEE, *and of the eminent Services which he rendered to his Country, as well as to the Hudſon's Bay Company...* SAMUEL HEARNE.

MATONABBEE was the ſon of a Northern Indian by a ſlave woman, who was formerly bought from ſome Southern Indians who came to Prince of Wales's Fort with furrs, &c.

It is impoſſible for any man to have been more punctual in the performance of a promiſe than he was; his ſcrupulous adherence to truth and honeſty would have done honour to the moſt enlightened and devout Chriſtian, while his benevolence and univerſal humanity to all the human race *, according to his abilities and manner of life, could not be exceeded by the moſt illuſtrious perſonage now on record.

The Beaver

MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

SPRING 1958
OUTFIT 268
TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

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Painting by Sohaney, Indian name of Jack Douglas Wilkinson, graduate of U.B.C., whose Sioux heritage is clearly discernible in his art.

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THE BIRTH OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY WALTER N. SAGE

QUEEN Victoria named British Columbia. Many, if not most, British Columbians seem to know this fact, and they also realize that in 1958 we are celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of British Columbia. What they often do not know is that in 1858 it was the Colony of British Columbia which came into being, and that the Province of British Columbia dates from July 20, 1871, the day on which the United Colony of British Columbia officially joined the new Dominion of Canada. It is really rather confusing.

The gold rush to Fraser River in the spring of 1858 not only brought in many thousands of gold seekers, the vast majority coming from California, but it also demonstrated the necessity for the formation of a second British colony on the Northwest Pacific coast. In 1849 the Hudson's Bay Company had received a royal grant establishing the colony of Vancouver's Island. The Company undertook to bring settlers to the island, and to co-operate in the government of the new colony. To be sure a royal governor, Richard Blanshard, was sent out from England, but on his arrival at Victoria, V.I., in March 1850, he found he was practically powerless and that the *de facto* ruler of Vancouver Island was Chief Factor James Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company. Blanshard resigned in disgust in 1851 and was succeeded in office by James Douglas. A gold flurry in the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1852-53 resulted in the appointment of Douglas as lieutenant-governor of the Queen Charlottes.

At the time of the Oregon Treaty of 1846 the 49th parallel of north latitude became the International Boundary between the United States and British North America, from the summits of the Rocky Mountains to the centre of the Gulf or Strait of Georgia. The northern boundary of the British territory on the mainland was not specified, but the eastern boundary ran along the crest of the Rockies. Alaska was still a Russian possession but by the

Governor James Douglas leaving Fort Langley the day after proclaiming the colony of British Columbia. From the painting by Franklin Arbuckle

treaty of 1825 the 141st meridian of west longitude had become the boundary, north of the Alaskan Panhandle, between Russian and British territory. The Hudson's Bay Company possessed its monopoly of trade within this huge territory. It was still a fur trade preserve, the only settlements being the Hudson's Bay Company's posts. As chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company James Douglas had the task of seeing that the Company's trading rights were maintained, but as governor of Vancouver Island and lieutenant-governor of the Queen Charlotte Islands he had no legal authority from the British Crown to assume the formal administration of the British territory on the mainland. He was, however, the nearest British official, and was prepared, as became evident during the winter of 1857-58, to take speedy action if and when he deemed it necessary.

The term New Caledonia was usually applied to this mainland territory, or to be more correct, to that portion of the territory lying between the Rockies and the Coast Mountains.* Its northern and southern boundaries were rather indefinite, and the coasting trade was never included in the New Caledonia returns. When it became evident in the spring of 1858 that some form of government would have to be provided for the mainland, the name considered, and in fact even inserted in the first reading of the bill was New Caledonia. There were certain difficulties, however,

*Cf. W. N. Sage, "New Caledonia: Siberia of the Fur Trade," *Beaver*, Summer 1956.

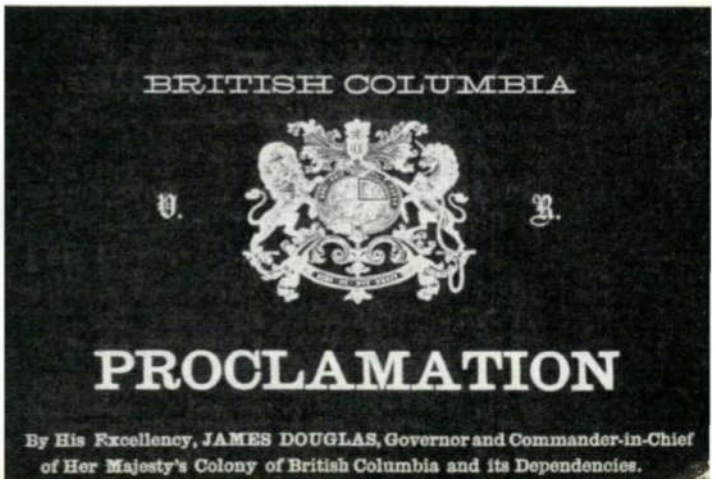
and in June 1858, the newly appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, wrote to Queen Victoria suggesting that she name the new colony. The Queen's choice was British Columbia.

The crown colony of British Columbia was essentially a "gold colony." It owed its existence to the gold rush on the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. It reached its high water mark during the "golden years of Cariboo" from 1862 to 1865. It declined when the Cariboo mines began to play out in 1865, and in 1866 by Act of the British Parliament it entered into a union with the colony of Vancouver Island. Both colonies were in financial straits and it was a marriage of convenience rather than a union of love. Union, however, failed to terminate the financial and other difficulties of British Columbia and no satisfactory solution was found until 1871 when the colony became a Canadian province.

The boundaries of British Columbia in 1858 extended from the International Boundary at the 49th parallel to the Finlay and Nass Rivers, and from the crest of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast, including the Queen Charlottes and other coastal islands but excluding Vancouver Island. In 1862 as a result of gold discoveries in the north, Stikine Territory was organized and in 1863 this territory was added to British Columbia. The northern boundary now became the 60th parallel of north latitude and the eastern was extended north to that parallel along the 125th meridian of west longitude from the point where that meridian cuts across the Rocky Mountains. British Columbia thereby obtained a share of the Peace River country, a fact of great significance later.

Unlike California and Australia, where the dates and the location of the first gold strikes are well known, historians have never been able to state accurately where and when gold was first found in British territory north of the 49th parallel. Judge F. W. Howay, after investigating thoroughly all available evidence, came to the conclusion that the first authentic strike was at Fort Colvile, just south of the International Boundary, in 1855 and that gold was found in 1856 on the Columbia in British territory. He rejected other stories including one told by James Houston of Langley, B.C., that he had discovered gold in 1854 at the junction of Tranquille Creek with the Thompson River a few miles west of Kamloops.

Relatively little attention was at first paid by the Americans to these gold strikes north of the 49th parallel. There was trouble with the Indians in Washington Territory. In 1857, however, American gold seekers made their way over from the Columbia to the watershed of Thompson River. In December of that year Douglas reported in a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in


BRITISH COLUMBIA
V.
R.
PROCLAMATION
By His Excellency, JAMES DOUGLAS, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Colony of British Columbia and its Dependencies.

James Douglas, first governor of British Columbia, and the heading of the proclamation made in November 1858 establishing the colony.

London that "The reputed wealth of the Couteau mines is causing much excitement amongst the population of the United States territories of Washington and Oregon, and I have no doubt that a great number of people from these territories will be attracted thither in spring."

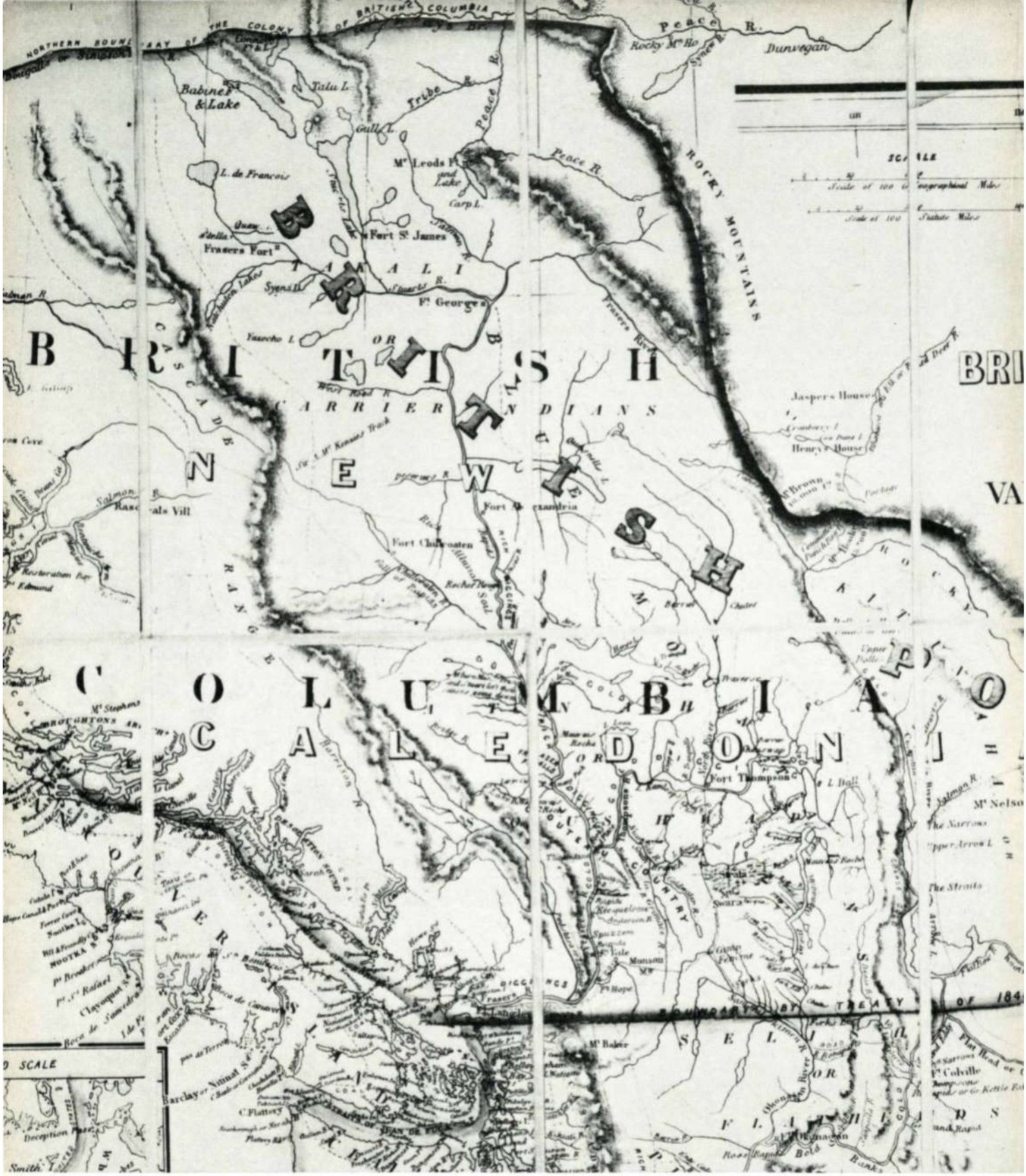
Douglas had seen the Americans come into Oregon in the early 1840s, and he had also had some slight experience with gold seekers in the Queen Charlotte Islands. As a British official and as an experienced fur trader, he made up his mind to take prompt action. He accordingly on December 28, 1857, issued a proclamation which clearly stated the absolute rights of the British Crown "to all mines of gold and all gold in its natural place of deposit within the districts of Fraser's and Thompson's Rivers." He added a warning that "all persons who shall take from my lands within the said districts any gold, metal, or ore containing gold, without being duly authorized in that behalf by Her Majesty's Colonial Government, will be prosecuted both criminally and civilly as the law allows." The next day Governor James Douglas issued provisional regulations to go into force on February 1, 1858. No one was to be permitted "to dig, search for or remove gold, on or from any lands, public or private, without first taking out a licence in the form annexed." (The proclamation and the regulations were sent to London as enclosures in Douglas's despatch of December 29, 1857, to Henry Labouchère, Secretary of State for the Colonies.) The licence fee was fixed at ten shillings per month, payable at Victoria, Vancouver Island. In January, 1858 the fee was raised to twenty-one shillings a month payable in advance. All persons who took out licences and paid fees were to be free to go to the gold fields. There were no restrictions against foreigners, similar to those in California. Douglas, however, was prepared, if necessary, to delay the enforcement of these regulations.

In the spring of 1858 Douglas did make a serious mistake when he attempted to maintain the exclusive rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. Amor De Cosmos, from Windsor, Nova Scotia, in the first issue of the *British Colonist*, summed up his case against Douglas in a striking editorial from which the following sentences have been taken:

Fort Langley, from a sketch by Edward Mallandaine, recently arrived architect, made in January 1859. B.C. Archives

"We do believe that no man ever had a more favourable opportunity to distinguish himself than Gov. Douglas. Everything conspired in his favour. Gold was discovered in British Columbia. Tens of thousands came eager to engage in the introduction of all the appliances of civilization, and thus lay in a few weeks the foundation of a nation in a land almost unknown. Nothing was required but mind to organize and the disposition to use it. . . .

"Unfortunately for these colonies, Gov. Douglas was not equal to the occasion. He wanted to serve his country with



Part of a map of the colony of British Columbia and the British and American Territory west of the Rocky Mountains, published by James Wyld, "Geographer to the Queen & the Prince Consort" September 10th 1858. The gold fields or "diggings" are shown, as well as the name New Caledonia, the Act creating the new colony having received royal assent the previous month but not yet being proclaimed in North America.

Fort Yale. After mid-1858 American sternwheelers made regular runs between Victoria and this Fraser settlement of several thousand people. B.C. Archives

honour and at the same time preserve the grasping interests of the Hudson's Bay Company inviolate. In trying to serve two masters he was unsuccessful as a statesman."

On May 8, 1858, James Douglas issued a proclamation warning all vessels from entering Fraser River for trade. After fourteen days from that date all vessels and goods "found in Fraser's River or in any of the bays, rivers or creeks of the said British possessions on the northwest coast of America, not having a licence from the Hudson's Bay Company, and a sufferance from the proper officer of the Customs at Victoria, shall be liable to forfeiture, and be seized and condemned according to law."

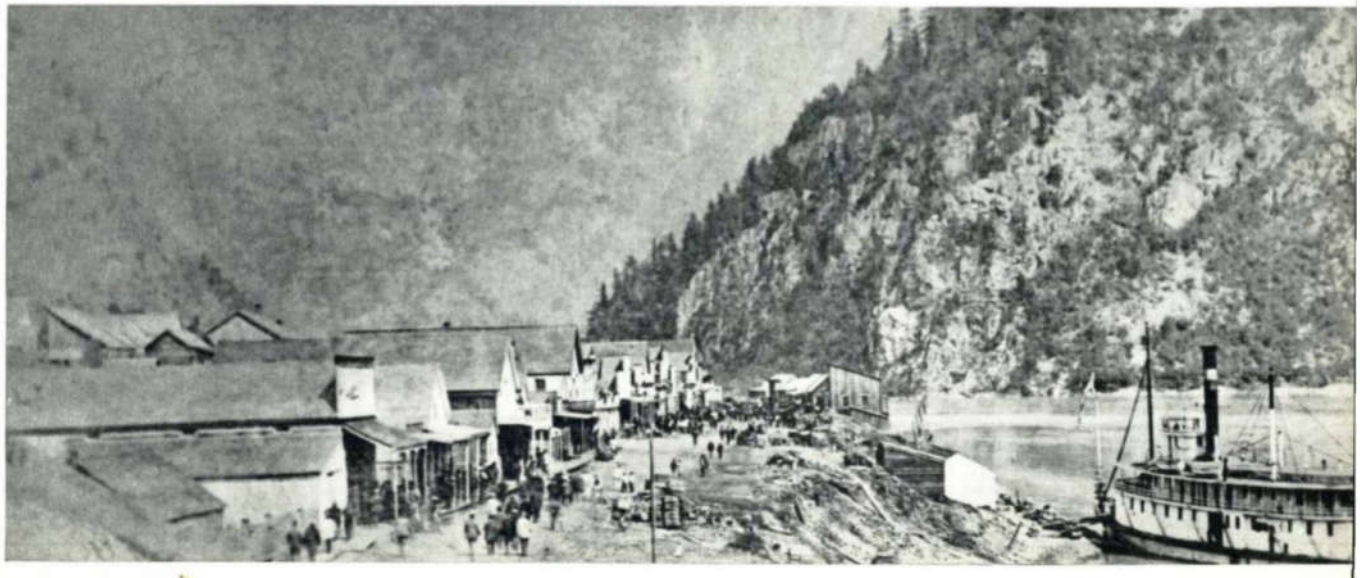
Douglas also entered into negotiations with the United States Pacific Mail Steamship Company to provide steamers which would ply between Victoria and Hope and Yale at the head of navigation on Fraser River. These steamers were to carry the goods of the Hudson's Bay Company and no other. They would only take as passengers those who had taken out and paid for a gold mining licence and permit from the Government of Vancouver Island. The American company was to pay as compensation to the Hudson's Bay Company two dollars head money for each passenger carried. In return the steamship company was to enjoy all the profits from river transport. The agreement was to be enforced for one year.

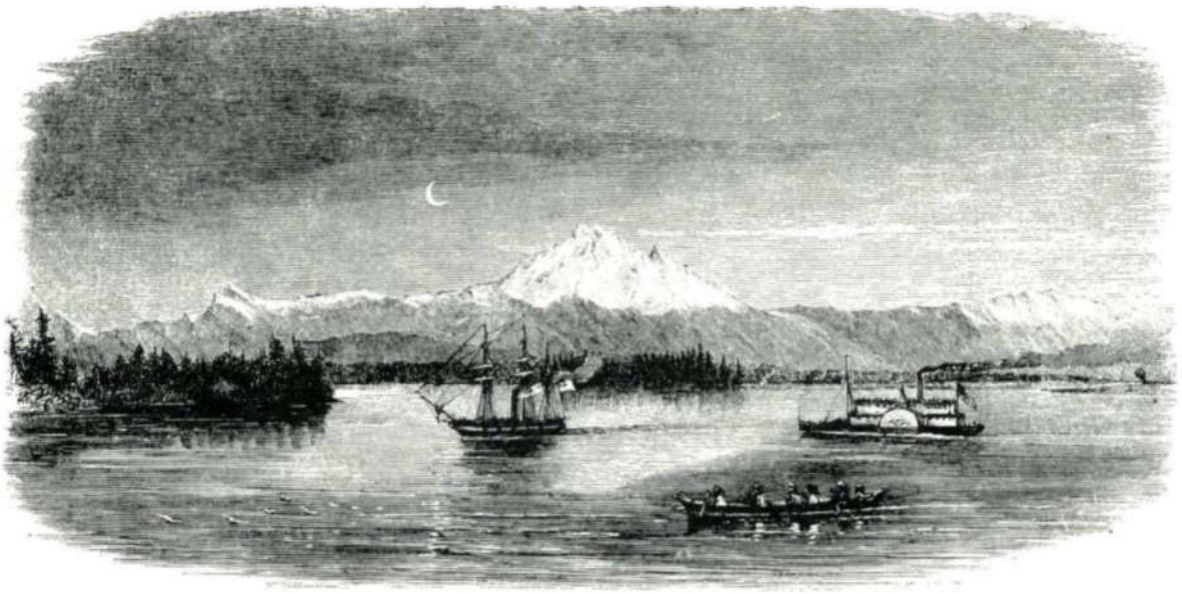
By the time Douglas's despatch of May 19th reached London, Lord Stanley had been succeeded in office by Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton. Lytton replied to Douglas's despatch on July 16th and made it very clear that Douglas had been exceeding his authority in trying to maintain and extend the trading privileges of the Hudson's Bay Company. After approving of certain of Douglas's actions Lytton warned him against using the powers entrusted to him "in maintenance of the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company in the territory."

To Lytton the only solution was the creation of a new colony. Douglas would be offered the governorship, but only on the one condition that he would sever all connections with the Hudson's Bay Company and its subsidiary, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. Douglas, after some negotiation, accepted the governorship of British Columbia.

In the meantime the gold seekers had been arriving in their thousands. At first many of them came by Port Townsend and Whatcom (now Bellingham, Wash.), but most of them headed for Victoria where a city of tents rapidly made its appearance. The Fraser is usually flooded in early June and it was found impossible to mine the sandbars until the waters fell. In late summer and early autumn the bars reappeared, but not until many American miners had headed south, denouncing "the Fraser River Humbug." One of the newcomers, Alfred Waddington, wrote a pamphlet entitled *The Fraser Mines Vindicated* which was published in Victoria in the late autumn of 1858. Waddington's is one of the best contemporary accounts of the gold rush and its effects on the sleepy village of Victoria, which was rapidly transformed first into a city of tents, and later into a sort of northern San Francisco.

In May 1858 Governor Douglas visited Fort Langley and then made up the Fraser to the gold fields. At Fort Langley he received several applications for "pre-emption of land rights" from would-be settlers on Fraser River. Douglas had, unfortunately, to refuse these requests because of lack of authority, but he noted in his diary that land sales should commence immediately or else a problem of "sovereignty" would probably arise. The governor also jotted down a set of regulations drawn up by the miners at Hills' Bar on May 21, 1858. They were very sensibly worded and are a good illustration of how California miners had brought with them conceptions of self-government and direct action. Douglas left Fort Langley on May 27th and made his way to Fort Hope, which became his headquarters for the time being. He conversed with the miners who told him that the gold fields were richer than in California, but that the gold was very fine and much was lost in the washing.





Mount Baker, from the Fraser River, about 1859. Under watch by an English naval vessel are an American steamer laden with gold seekers and an Indian canoe.

At Hills' Bar, near Yale, Douglas successfully settled a dispute between the Indians and the miners. He also appointed certain local officials. The governor, nonetheless, feared the possible outbreak of hostilities between the miners and the natives. Bloodshed actually did occur in August 1858 and two Americans lost their lives. The miners formed a company under the leadership of Captain H. M. Snyder. A show of force was sufficient, although at China Bar, Snyder and his company found five miners in a sort of fortification. Snyder met all the Indian chiefs between Yale and Lytton, including Chief Spiritlum of Thompson River and successfully concluded treaties of peace and friendship with them.

As soon as Governor Douglas learned of the Indian troubles he set out for Hope late in August with a small force of Royal Engineers from the International Boundary Survey Service and Marines from H.M.S. *Satellite*. He arrived at Hope on September 1st and found everything peaceful. The Indians, however, were still "much incensed against the miners," and were most willing to discuss their grievances with the governor. Douglas soon became convinced that liquor was the main cause of the trouble and so he issued a proclamation banning the sale of liquor to the natives under a penalty of not less than five pounds and not more than twenty pounds. He appointed local peace officers. At Yale he made similar appointments.

By this time the British Parliament had passed the Act of August 2, 1858, establishing the colony of British Columbia, but as yet this information had not reached Governor Douglas. So far as he knew no judge had been appointed for the mainland and when he learned that a murder charge had been laid against William King for the murder of a miner named Eaton at Cross Bar, near the foot of the Big Canyon, all the governor could do was to appoint three commissioners to try the case. The trial resulted in a verdict of manslaughter. King was sentenced to transportation, but escaped from the Victoria gaol and was never recaptured. Judge Howay always maintained that the trial was absolutely illegal.

The greatest difficulty encountered by the miners was, however, not Indians, but the lack of communication, and especially the absence of trails and roads. There was, of course, a well known grease trail up Fraser Canyon, used by the Indians for centuries, which Simon Fraser had used, but which Judge Begbie found fit neither for man, dog, nor goat. River steamers with difficulty made their way up stream to Hope and eventually to Yale, but beyond Yale it was indeed hard going. Each man from that point carried his tools and supplies on his back. If he was lucky he got through to Lytton and even to Lillooet. There was, however, an alternative route by way of Harrison River, Harrison Lake, Pemberton Portage to Anderson and Seton Lakes to Lillooet. Douglas encouraged the miners to build a trail over this route and even supplied them with funds for that purpose. It was not until 1862 that the well known Cariboo Road was started. Its southern terminus was Yale and it wound its way through canyons and rolling country north to Quesnel and turned east to its northern terminus at Barkerville, the so-called "capital of Cariboo." It was finally completed in 1865.

While Douglas was visiting the mainland Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton was going ahead with his plans for the making of British Columbia. Lytton was a man of vision and imagination. He sent out Colonel R. C. Moody and the special detachment of the Royal Engineers. He picked good officials. Matthew Baillie Begbie was excellent as a

Miners in search of their fortunes in the Cariboo in the 1860s. B.C. Archives

pioneer judge. He enforced British justice and won almost universal respect. Chartres Brew from the Royal Irish Constabulary became the organizer of the British Columbia Police. Most of the magistrates and gold commissioners were excellent choices, and there were relatively few black sheep among Lytton's appointees.

Before the gold colony could be officially established it was necessary that the exclusive trading rights of the Hudson's Bay Company should definitely be rescinded. This was done by a proclamation issued by James Douglas at Victoria, V.I., on November 3, 1858, in his capacity as governor of the colony of Vancouver Island. The old Company did not withdraw from the new colony; it merely adapted itself to new conditions.

On November 17, 1858, James Douglas, accompanied by Rear Admiral R. L. Baynes, Chief Justice David Cameron of Vancouver Island, and Judge M. B. Begbie of British Columbia and Captain Parsons with a detachment of the Royal Engineers embarked at Victoria in H.M.S. *Satellite*. The party landed at Point Roberts and spent the night there. On the morning of the 18th they boarded the Hudson's Bay Company's screw steamer *Otter* and were conveyed to the historic S.S. *Beaver* in which they travelled to Fort Langley.

Next day was very wet. The rain was coming down in torrents when the party landed in a little cove at Fort Langley and climbed up the muddy bank to the fort. The ceremony which, had the weather been propitious, would have been held in the open air, took place in the chief room of the Big House. James Douglas, as governor of Vancouver Island, presented Matthew Baillie Begbie with his commission as judge in the new colony of British Columbia. Begbie duly took the prescribed oaths. Judge Begbie then formally swore in and installed James Douglas as governor of British Columbia.

The exclusive trading rights of the Hudson's Bay Company having been revoked by the proclamation of November 3rd, Governor Douglas then issued the three proclamations of November 19th having the force of law. The first formally proclaimed the Act of August 2, 1858. The second indemnified all the officers of the government for any irregularities which may have been committed before the proclamation of the Act. The third proclaimed the English Common Law, as then existing, to be the law of the new colony. About a hundred persons were present at this simple, historic ceremony.

The next day His Excellency officially took his departure from Fort Langley. On his arrival he had been given an eighteen gun salute from S.S. *Beaver*, and he now received a seventeen gun salute from the battlements of the fort, with even grander effect than that of the previous day. The correspondent of the *Victoria Gazette* has thus described the scene at the riverside:

> "On leaving the riverside in front of the town, a number of the inhabitants were assembled with whom His Excellency entered into conversation previously to embarking on board the *Beaver*, and by whom he was loudly cheered in very good style as he was on his way to the steamer."

One hundred years later we realize how important these events were which took place in a far-off British colony almost on the edge of nowhere. British Columbians owe an eternal debt of gratitude to Governor James Douglas, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Colonel Richard Clement Moody, Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie, and to all the others who brought into being and guided and guarded the gold colony during its formative years. ◆

Professor Rich, general editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society and Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, is writing the official history of the Company.

BY E. E. RICH

PRO PELLE CUTEM

THE College of Heralds is, perhaps, not one of the first places to which one would look for jokes, but from time to time the Kings of Arms seem to have indulged a sense of fun which has created considerable trouble for the historian and the antiquary. Most famous of their jokes is, of course, the motto of the Order of the Garter which, with its *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, has caused very considerable speculation. For the most part when they departed from the simple *Tenebo* or *Semper Fidelis* or the like they indulged in puns either on the name or on the occupation of the family to which the grant was made, and it was in the mottos that the chief scope for humour came. Such puns as that perpetrated by the Tudor merchant Robert Thorne, who founded Bristol Grammar School (1532) and gave it the motto "Grapes from Thorns," *Ex Spinis Uvas*, or the motto of Repton School founded by Sir John Port, *Porta Vacat Culpa*, are numerous, and not lacking in charm. The tradition that the motto should have, if possible, some puckish relevance, and should not be merely a pompous declaration of moral purpose, persisted even when the arms were assumed without the sanction of the College of Heralds—and that seems to have been the case with the Company's arms and motto.

The arms and motto of the Company were certainly adopted very soon after the grant of the Charter, for the first seal was cut in 1671, a "Little Seale" was ordered in 1680 and a silver seal (which probably still survives) in 1683, while there are prints of the coat of arms and motto which date back to 1679. The evidence is pretty conclusive that from the start of its history the Company used the

The fur robe worn by the northern Indian became the supple castor gras *desired by the hatters.* From a Rindisbacher painting in West Point Museum.

The Company crest, used on metal seals for fur bales, once was used on H B C stationery.

motto and the coat of arms, from which it has never made any serious variation, with its four beaver, its sitting fox for a crest, and its two moose (the heralds called them elks) as supporters. Such a coat of arms would be a necessary part of the right to act as a corporation and to use a common seal which were essential to the organization as a company which the Charter made possible. But there is no trace of a grant of these arms from the College of Heralds until 1921! Such an omission may indicate that the first members of the Company had other things on their minds, or perhaps that they just evaded the fees which an official grant would entail. Since the arms and the motto are correct in every heraldic sense, and since from the start the seals were an official and important part of the Company's corporate existence, the lack of evidence most probably indicates only that there is a gap in the documents but that the arms were in fact properly registered and granted.

In any case, the motto bears the authentic marks of a heraldic grant in its ability to arouse speculation and in the number of explanations of which it is capable. It has been argued that *Pro pelle cutem* is a whimsical derivation from the Book of Job's Vulgate phrase (Chapter 2, verse 4) *Pellem pro pelle*—skin for skin—and it is almost certain that the phrase was in the minds of those who framed the motto. It is also argued that the Vulgate phrase was changed so as to underline the risks of the trade to Hudson's Bay; *Pro pelle cutem* could certainly mean "We risk our skins to get furs," and the most generally accepted version has been that such a twist of the Vulgate phrase was the origin of the Company's motto. Such quirks would have been perfectly normal, and until a clear record of the arguments which led up to the motto comes to light such explanations cannot be ruled out. Nor can the more simple literary derivation from Juvenal's *Pro cute pellem* (Satire x, 192).

But, while such explanations must indeed be accepted as possible, and the certainty which direct evidence would give seems most unlikely, an understanding of the trade-system into which the newly-chartered Company hoped to fit gives strong support for a different explanation altogether.

From before the start of the Company, from the arrival of Radisson and Groseilliers in London, the attention of their supporters was not fixed upon the ordinary fur-trade but upon the beaver-trade as a peculiar branch of that trade. Lynxes, martens, foxes and bears were indeed in men's minds, but beaver predominated; for beaver was the fur in which the New World paid its debts to the old, beaver was the basis of the economy of Canada, and beaver was the fur which the two adventurous rascals from Canada promised in any quantity to the London courtiers and bankers. The Company's arms included a fox, and they were supported by elks; but the four beaver are quite the main *motif*, and the arms, like the Company itself, must be fitted into the history of the beaver-trade, not into the fur-trade in its wider aspects.

"CONTINENTAL" HAT

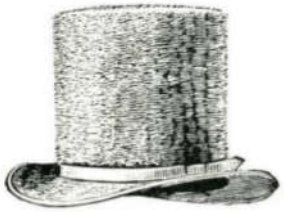
NAVAL COCKED HAT

A CLERICAL TYPE

THE PARIS BEAU

THE WELLINGTON

THE D'ORSAY



THE REGENT

ARMY HAT

There have been many modifications of the beaver hat, as shown in Martin's Castorologia. *In the eighteenth century (top row) cocked hats of various styles were fashionable. In the next century the "stove pipe" shape became popular.*

Now beaver in the seventeenth-century was not a fur which was used "in the pelt" as were most furs. The craft of felting furs was spreading across Europe, and the general tradition is that felt hats first appeared on the continent about 1456, that they were first made in London in 1510, and that the Feltmakers Company of London was chartered to control the increasing trade in 1629. Beaver for the felter was what the Company hoped to get from the Bay—and beaver for the British felter above all.

This was an important consideration because one of the main objects of English policy during this period was to free the English economy from the domination of the Dutch. By their ability in shipping and finance the Dutch got an excessive share of the wealth which the Age of Discoveries had opened up to Europe, and their control of the Baltic trade was a particularly strong card in their hand and a particularly galling sign of the inferiority of the English economy. Anything which could break England's dependence on Baltic produce would be welcomed, whether it was grain, hemp, tar, ship's spars, - - - or beaver for felting.

The position of the Dutch and of the Russians in the beaver-trade requires some little explanation, and much of the explanation lies in an understanding of the peculiarities of beaver-fur. To be of good quality, thick and heavy, the beaver-pelt must come from an animal taken during the winter, and taken in as hard a climate as possible. Then the skin carries two kinds of fur; close to the skin is a thick mass of "beaver-wool," down or "duvet" as the French called it; on top is a glossy fur of long "guard-

hairs." It was the beaver-wool above all which the felters wanted. The mass of barbed fur was admirable for their purpose and was the foundation of the fine fur-felts which were moulded into the magnificent beaver hats which graced the seventeenth century. But it was difficult to get the beaver wool out from a prime winter skin without also tearing out the guard-hairs and thereby completely destroying the skin and partly spoiling the consistency of the felt. English and French felters therefore liked to get their beaver wool from skins from which the guard-hairs had already been removed. This made them dependent on *castor gras*, or in English, "coat beaver." These were skins which the Indians had worn for a season and which in the process had lost their guard-hairs and had become so thoroughly greasy that they fully earned the title of *castor gras*. The greasy beaver-wool was easily shaved from the skin by the felters; it was just what they wanted to manufacture the finest felts, and the supple skin which was left was used for making slippers and other soft-leather goods. The custom of wearing beaver, and the art of doing so in such a way as to impart the maximum of grease, was peculiar to the northern Indians of Canada, and the French complained that the Iroquois who traded with them had not the knack. It was *castor gras*, the greasy coat beaver, which were promised from Hudson's Bay, and which in fact came home to London in the first cargoes in encouraging quantities; and the great merit of this was that the coat were a kind of beaver which the English felter knew how to use.

If the beaver came, as the vast bulk did before the trade with Hudson's Bay was opened up, from areas where it would not be worn and greased before it was traded, it would merely be a sun-cured pelt, dry instead of supple and greasy, and carrying both the guard-hairs and the beaver-wool just as when it was taken. This was the *castor sec*, the dry beaver or "parchment" which normally came in great quantities from Canada, from the New England colonies, and from the Dutch American colonies both before and after they were captured by the English. But parchment beaver was in little demand in Europe in its natural state, and would only be used by the furrier for trimmings, bed-covers, and at times for garments in which it could be treated as a natural fur "in the pelt." Before it could be properly used by the felter it had to have the beaver-wool removed, and this was a process known only to the Russians in the seventeenth century.

First stage of a hat; the beaver wool has been felted into hoods which will be shaped and dressed.

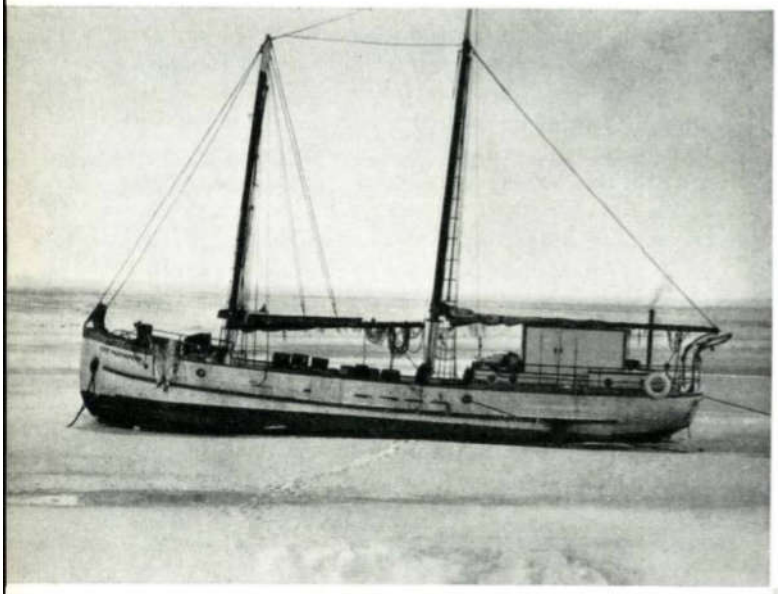
Russia had, of course, been the main source of fine furs in Europe until the New World began to send home its pelts; and in Russia there was stored a knowledge of fur-techniques which was strenuously guarded. There alone could the parchment beaver from America be so treated that the beaver-wool was combed out for the felter's use while the guard-hairs were left on the pelt, to make a fine and lustrous fur which was more valued even than the original skin before treatment. Russia, therefore, was a necessary part in the trade-routine of felters who could only secure supplies of parchment beaver; and the Dutch controlled the Russian trade, both in taking the parchment to Archangel and in bringing back the beaver wool and the prepared furs. The desire for a source of coat beaver which would make the English felter independent alike of the Russian and of the Dutchman was an important element in the motive which led to support for Radisson and Groseilliers. Their supporters, however, were neither fur-merchants nor felters; they were courtiers and bankers who knew little but the generalities of the trade upon which they had embarked, and they cast round their motives the full technicalities of a Charter in which colonization, discovery, justice and national rights all figure largely. But when, in the very early days of their corporate existence, they settled upon their arms they settled upon the arms of a fur-trading company, and of a fur-trading company pre-occupied by beaver.

This was a pre-occupation which the elusive motto makes quite clear, and which in its turn seems completely and adequately to explain that motto. The beaver was not wanted so that it might be used as ordinary furs were used by the furriers, in the pelt, but to provide the beaver-wool for the felter. The Company, in short, wanted the pelt so as to get the wool from it; it wanted the skin, *cutem*, for the sake of the fleece, *pro pelle*. Such an explanation of the motto does not exclude literary and Biblical derivations, nor the possibility that the risks of a fur-trading life were in mind. Where a phrase was being coined, many allusions might well be included. But since the motto can, without strain, be brought into such direct relevance to the trade it would seem perverse to overlook so clear an allusion.◆

NORTH-ABOUT

BY W. G. CRISP

Commercial transit of the Northwest Passage thirty years ago is recalled by Mr. Crisp who was for some years wireless operator in the "Baymaud" which in 1927 was moored at Cambridge Bay as floating warehouse and wireless station.



The schooner "Fort Macpherson" wintering at King William Island.

IN search of a Northwest Passage to the Indies, Martin Frobisher set sail from England in 1576, with "no better armament than two barques of 25 tons and a pinnace of 10 tons." He got no farther than the strait which now bears his name. His quest was unsuccessful, as were all attempts to establish a sea route across the top of the North American Continent, until Amundsen's 47-ton sloop *Gjoa** sailed from Norway to Nome between 1903 and 1906.

Amundsen had come west through Lancaster Sound, and southward down Peel Sound, along the west coast of Somerset Island, before spending two winters at Gjoa Haven on King William Island. In 1829 Sir James Clark Ross had sailed down the east coast of Somerset Island in the sidewheeler *Victory*, but missed Bellot Strait and wintered at Felix Harbour at the southeastern base of Boothia Peninsula.

*Pronounced *Yua*.

The voyage of the *Gjoa* seemed to have demonstrated that the Passage could only be navigated by comparatively small, shallow-draft vessels, and interest in the sea route lapsed for a quarter of a century. However, in the late '20s, the growth of trade in the central Arctic prompted the Hudson's Bay Company to investigate the commercial possibilities of a water route between the Eastern and Western Arctic.

In the summer of 1928, the H B C schooner *Fort James* sailed from St. John's with a crew of Newfoundland seamen under command of Captain Fred Bush. She followed the route of the *Gjoa* until stopped by heavy ice, less than a hundred miles from King William Island. The winter of 1928-9 was

The "Fort James" under sail.

Gjoa Haven loops into King William Island. The trading post is on the right of the bay, centre of picture. R.C.A.F.

spent at Oscar Bay on the west side of Boothia Peninsula, then in the vicinity of the magnetic pole.

At the same time, the Company schooner *Fort Macpherson*, which regularly supplied the H B C King William Land post, was wintering at Cambridge Bay. Three hundred miles farther west, the R.C.M.P. schooner *St. Roch*, on her maiden voyage, was frozen in at Langton Bay on the mainland. In 1942 she was to pass through Bellot Strait to become the first vessel to complete the Northwest Passage from west to east. Also at Cambridge Bay that winter was the H B C schooner *Aklavik*, which Scotty Gall would take through Bellot Strait in 1937 to meet the *Nascopie* at Fort Ross.

At Cambridge Bay, where I was the radio operator, we were pretty certain, in that winter of 1928-9, that we would see the schooner from the Atlantic, with open water. But we all knew the uncertainties of arctic navigation.

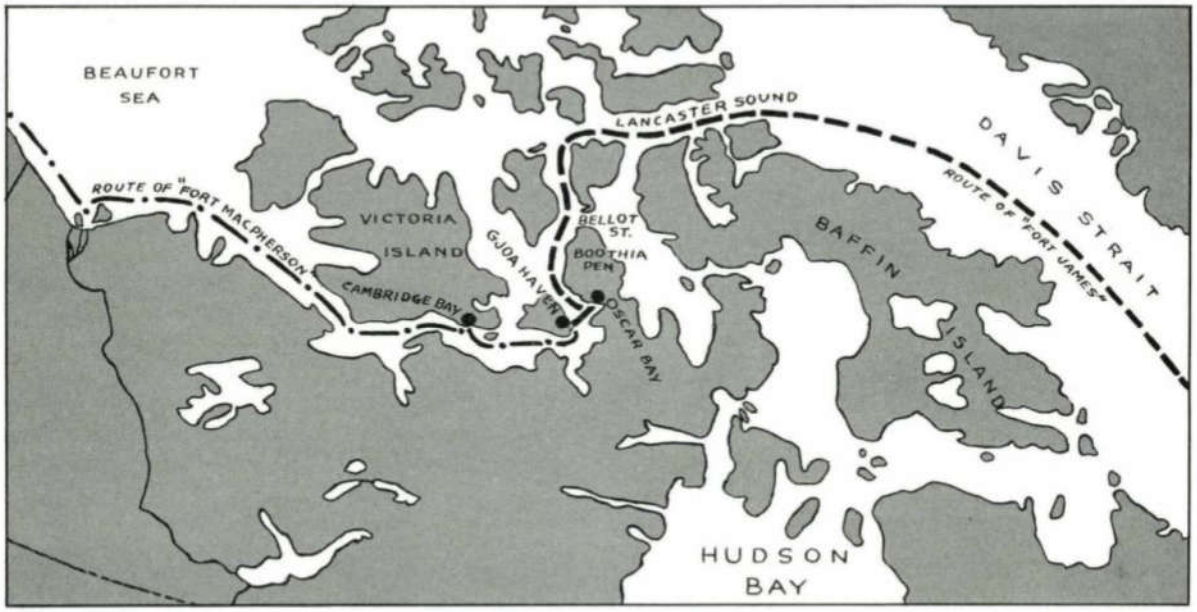
The *Fort James* had been built as the *Jean Revillon* by Etherington of Shelburne, N.S. She was patterned after the lines of an Atlantic "knock-about" type schooner, but her Douglas fir frames were much heavier than those of an ordinary fishing schooner, and her planking was attached with treenails instead of metal fastenings. Her loaded draft of twelve feet was suitable for Hudson Bay, for which she had been intended, but was to become a disadvantage in shallow central Arctic waters. Because of it she was unable to anchor inside a shoal that would have afforded shelter from pack ice at Oscar Bay.

As soon as the ice started to break up, late in July 1929, the *Fort James* found herself in trouble. She was forced onto the shoal and took a terrific battering for twenty-four hours. But the Nova Scotian builders of wooden ships had done their job well, and she was finally pushed over the shoal to deep water with no serious damage to her hull.

Late in August the S.S. *Baychimo* arrived at Cambridge Bay and the *Fort Macpherson* made two round trips to King William Land, the post at Gjoa Haven, with the annual supplies. There was no sign of the *Fort James*, and there was no wireless to contact her. Supplies that had arrived in the *Baychimo* for the *Fort James* were waiting for her at Cambridge Bay, but freeze-up came and she did not appear.

The *Macpherson* went into winter quarters at Cambridge Bay in September, and soon afterwards, word was received by wireless from the *Fort James* that she had reached Gjoa Haven, but had been prevented from proceeding farther westward by heavy ice in Simpson Strait.

Ice in Queen Maud Gulf forced them to go "south about" as the captain described it. He steered close along the north shore of Melbourne Island, and then had to bear out toward the ice to clear the shoal known as Audlatawiguak, which forces a vessel, even with the shallow five-foot draft of the *Macpherson*, to keep so far off shore that the low coast line is no more than a black line, even on the clearest of days. And then past Flagstaff Island off the mouth of Perry River, and on through a maze of uncharted islets, in water that was muddy from the host of small rivers draining in full spate from the barrens. Once, almost soundlessly, with scarcely a jar, the *Macpherson* rolled over to a twenty-five degree list, as though a marine



Before spring it was learnt that the *Fort James* was running short of food and that supplies at the post were depleted by the unexpected arrival of the schooner's crew for the winter. The crisis was temporarily averted by one of the first "air drops" in the Arctic, and the *Macpherson* was made ready to proceed to Gjoa Haven at the earliest possible time in the summer.

On 10 August 1930 Captain David Morris sailed from Cambridge Bay in the *Fort Macpherson* with the supplies the *Baychimo* had brought in for the *Fort James* the previous summer. With him were Mat Shand, his engineer, and Corporal (later Deputy Commissioner) Alan Belcher of the R.C.M.P., now executive director of the Arctic Institute, who was proceeding to investigate an Eskimo murder case at King William Island.

monster had surfaced beneath her. Her bilge had scraped a glacier-rounded, kelp covered rock.

The *Macpherson* settled back on an even keel. She could head northward now under the shelter of the largest of the Nordenskjold Islands, which were holding back the old ice from Victoria Strait. The Eskimos called that island *Pitulik*, which was said to mean "hat," but it was hard to understand why the natives of Queen Maud Gulf, who lived their entire life in parkas, should have a word for hat. Certainly the island Pitulik was shaped like a hat—a straw boater, or perhaps more appropriately, like a tarred hat that might have been worn by one of Franklin's seamen. And beyond Pitulik lay the solid, bottle-green, arctic ice that never melts. Some of it might indeed have been the same floes that crushed Franklin's ships.

"Fort James" aground at Oscar Bay in August 1929. The dog and one of the ship's crew cross the breaking ice of the shoal.

Captain Fred Bush, master of the "Fort James," on her trip to Gjoa Haven.

The *Macpherson* turned east again and threaded her way through open leads in the less forbidding pack ice of Simpson Strait. There were scattered masses of ice drifting in the harbour when she nosed into Gjoa Haven, and beyond them—the masts of the *Fort James*.

The trip had been routine to Captain Morris and he can't recall feeling any special emotion on sighting them. His reaction was typical of a sailor: seeing the schooner his mind went back to the Bankers he had seen in the North Atlantic during his apprenticeship in deep sea ships.

The *Fort Macpherson*, which had been built in Vancouver and sailed into the Arctic around Point Barrow, nosed alongside the *Fort James* from the Atlantic. The cargo was broken out from her hold. It included tea and spices from the Orient, which had been shipped across the Pacific to Vancouver.

Thus the Northwest Passage by sea had at last been completed commercially. The red ensigns fluttering at the mastheads of the two schooners, each under 100 tons, symbolized the fulfilment of a four-hundred-year-old dream.

Her mission completed, the *Fort Macpherson* lost no time in returning to Cambridge Bay, from where she made two more round trips with freight for King William Land post before freeze-up. While she was doing this, the *Fort James* returned to Newfoundland by the way she had come. Had she ventured the two-hundred-odd miles farther westward to Cambridge Bay, she would have been the first ship to circumnavigate North America. For in 1934 she reached Cambridge Bay from St. John's via the Panama Canal. ◆

Dr. Galbraith is professor of history at the University of California. His book "The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-69" has just been published.

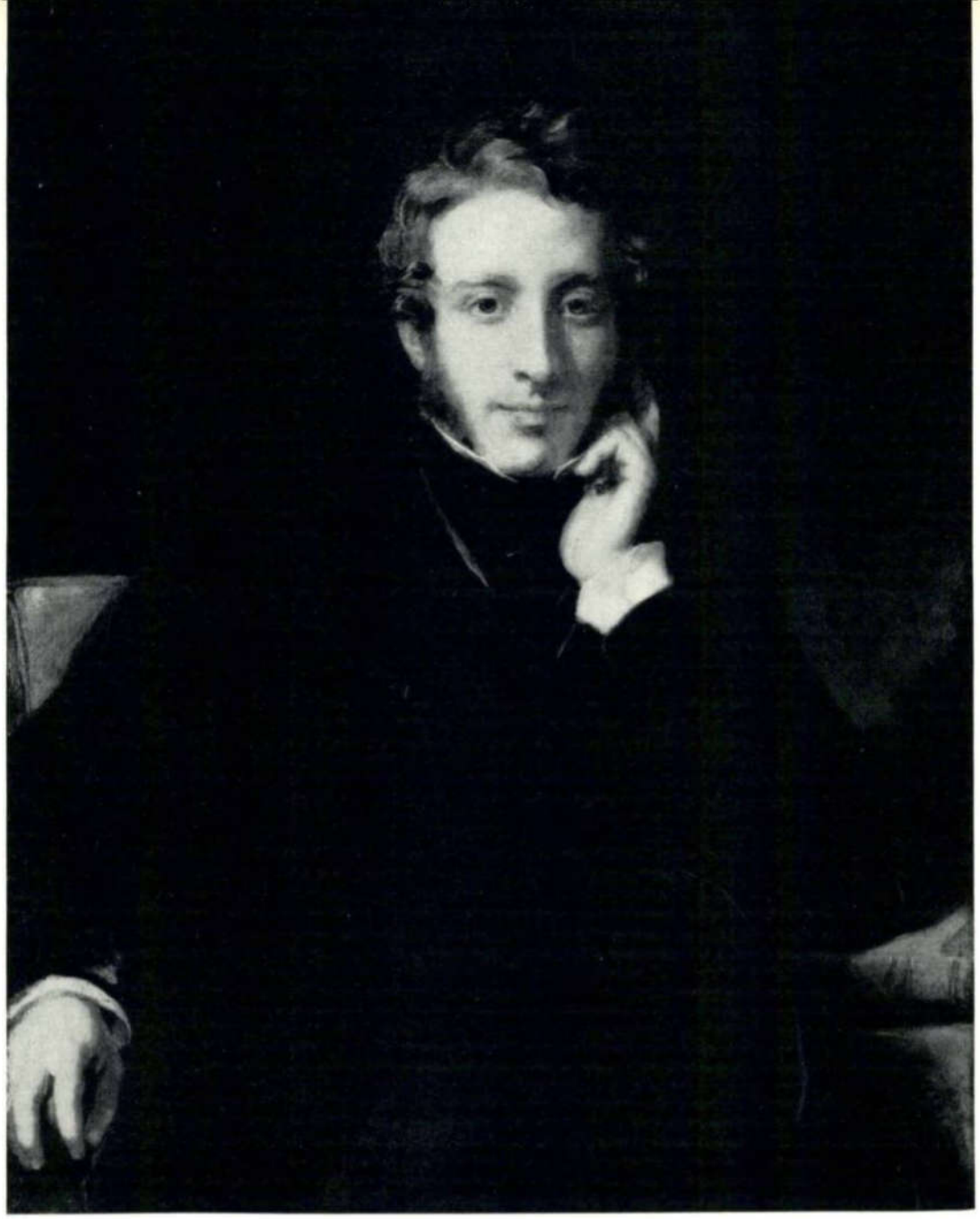
BULWER-LYTTON'S ULTIMATUM

BY J. S. GALBRAITH

THROUGHOUT his life, Edward Bulwer-Lytton was dominated by a "divine discontent." Before he had reached the age of thirty he was a successful novelist, but a vaulting ambition drove him to seek eminence in other spheres. He wrote poetry and plays, and the caustic comments of his critics only spurred him to further efforts which, regardless of the verdict of the literary world, appealed to the popular taste and won him the plaudits he craved. Handicapped by deafness and a serious speech defect which led even his friends to predict his inevitable failure, he achieved recognition as an outstanding parliamentary orator by painstaking attention to the preparation of his speeches. When appointed Colonial Secretary in the Derby-Disraeli government of 1858, he determined to prove his right to be called a statesman. By his own estimate he succeeded. In a speech to his constituents a few years later, he declared his pride at the part he had played in the creation of the colony of British Columbia and informed them that had he remained in office "one line of British settlements would have sprung up to connect the Pacific with the Atlantic."

Bulwer-Lytton's verdict on his administration was not universally accepted by his contemporaries. The leaders of the Hudson's Bay Company, hardly objective observers of his attacks upon the chartered monopoly, could be expected to hold him in low regard. Edward "Bear" Ellice called him "a visionary Gentleman, who proposed to create some Utopia on the ruins of the Company." The Duke of Newcastle sarcastically referred to him as "the great Literary Statesman, who, like Canning, believed he had created a New World." Benjamin Disraeli, generally friendly to Lytton, rated his egotism as being of a magnitude comparable to that of Cicero.

The immortality which Bulwer-Lytton sought so strenuously has eluded him. Today, if he is remembered by the public at all, it is as the author of *The Last Days of Pompeii*. But scholars still debate the significance of his contribution to the history of North America. Some consider his far-sighted statesmanship to have been vital to the retention of British Columbia in the British Empire and to the foundation in that colony of an orderly, prosperous society. Others contend that Bulwer-Lytton's policies were of little importance in the course of events. Whatever the conclusion as to his contribution, his policies can be understood only in the context of the environment in which he worked. The Colonial Secretary was not an independent potentate. Not only did he depend to a considerable extent upon the advice of his permanent staff, but he was required to adjust his policies to the philosophy of the government of which he was a member, to the majority in Parliament, and ultimately to the views of the electorate.



Edward Bulwer-Lytton, created Baron Lytton in 1866, from a portrait by Paul Falconer Poole. National Portrait Gallery.

In the 1850s two dominant influences affected colonial policy of both Tory and Liberal governments—the free trade emphasis of the industrialists and the corollary principle of avoidance of expenditures for colonial purposes. The Hudson's Bay Company as a chartered monopoly was a target of attack on the first score, but the second consideration prevented political action to replace Company administration with effective imperial government. However strongly Victorian politicians might feel about the evils of monopoly, they were devoted to the sanctity of property rights; and the charter of Charles II, hoary though it might be, was an effective barrier to expropriation. In 1858 the East India Company, saddled with the responsibility for the Sepoy Mutiny which in the eyes of the British government proved the dangers of company rule, had received payment for the loss of its rights. The Hudson's Bay Company could not be removed from its control over Rupert's Land without compensation which no British government, Liberal or Conservative, was willing to provide and which the Derby administration with a precarious majority in Parliament would not dare to undertake. Only in the licensed territories was an oppor-

tunity presented to strip territory from Company control at little or no expense, and even here effective administration was impossible unless local sources of revenue could sustain the necessary burden of taxation.

Evidence in the mid-1850s of increasing Canadian interest in the acquisition of a new West seemed to offer the opening to Britain to accomplish a painless transfer of authority. After years of hammering on the theme by George Brown, William McDougall, and others, the Canadian government in the summer of 1856 first expressed support for westward expansion. Philip Vankoughnet, president of the Executive Council, declared that Canada should stretch to the Pacific and that this vast transcontinental territory should be bound together by a railroad passing entirely through British territory. In January, 1857, the Council asserted that it was the "general sentiment" in Canada that the colony's western frontier must be the Pacific.

The increasing agitation in Canada brought to the fore the issue of renewal of the Company's licence of exclusive trade in the territories west of Rupert's Land and led to the appointment of the Select Committee of 1857. This group, divided almost equally between friends and foes of the Hudson's Bay Company, recommended that Canada be enabled to annex portions of the chartered territory for purposes of settlement, on condition that the Canadian government open roads and other communications to those areas and provide for their administration. The Committee's recommendation could not be carried out unless Canada was willing and able to spend the money for such purposes and for compensation to the Company. This condition was not fulfilled.

So long as expressions of interest were all that were required, Canadian politicians were willing to support western expansion. Speeches and resolutions cost no money and might win votes. But actual acquisition of territory with its attendant expense was another matter, and any governmental support for such action disappeared with the financial crisis of 1857. The initiative therefore remained with the Colonial Office and the British Parliament, and neither was inclined to assume any responsibilities involving expense.

The decline in Canadian enthusiasm was not immediately evident to the British government. The problem as conceived by Bulwer-Lytton's predecessor, Henry Labouchere, was to stimulate the Company and Canada to come to an agreement without involving his government beyond the functions of a mediator. The means by which he sought to force the Company to accept Canadian colonization of the arable areas was the threat of non-renewal of the licence of trade due to expire in 1859. The Company would receive compensation for the loss of these lands, the price to be determined by a board of three commissioners, one each to be appointed by Canada, the Company, and the British government. The Company's governing board, keenly aware of the unpopularity of their monopoly, accepted these terms because they offered the prospect of compensation and because under Labouchere's proposals Canada would be required to govern the Red River Settlement and could be called upon to restrain the inhabitants from crossing into territory remaining to the Company. But just at the moment of his apparent success, a change of government removed him from office and Bulwer-Lytton became Colonial Secretary.

Had Lytton been content to adhere to Labouchere's terms, the Company would undoubtedly have continued to honour the agreement. Unfortunately he was impressed with the Canadian argument that the very validity of the charter must first be tested. After an examination of the issue, he consequently sought to impose upon the Company as an additional condition for renewal of the trading licence the submission to the Privy Council of both the boundary issue and the legality of the charter. Such a stipulation the Company could not accept, and upon its refusal he resorted to threats which he was unable to carry out. He declared that if the Company remained adamant, "both Canada and the British Parliament might justly complain of unnecessary delay," and that he would "take the necessary steps for closing a controversy too long open and for securing a definite decision which is due to the material development of British North America and the requirements of an advancing civilization." Specifically, he warned that the trading licence would not be renewed.

Lytton's ultimatum depended for its effectiveness on two assumptions, neither of which proved to be valid—that the licence was of great importance to the Company, and that the Canadian government was eager to take action to acquire the chartered and licensed territories. The majority of the Company's governing board considered the licence of little value. As a means of discouraging competitors from penetrating into the valuable fur preserves of Rupert's Land itself, trade in the bordering areas was important, but such trade could be carried on without the benefit of a legal monopoly, as it was in fact conducted in Canada along the eastern periphery of the chartered territory. Furthermore, though Canada was willing to have Britain take the initiative in testing the charter, it had temporarily lost its enthusiasm for western expansion and was unwilling itself to take action with the attendant expense. Lytton, however, confident in the expectation that he could force a settlement on his own terms, pressed forward. The gold rush to British Columbia, he

concluded, made necessary not only effective administration of that colony but control over the territories between the Pacific slope and Canada. Consequently he informed the Governor and Committee that, if Canada did not indicate by May 1, 1859, its desire to act against the charter, the British government would institute proceedings. Curiously, in contrast to his attacks on Company rule in the earlier passages of this communication, he concluded by offering to extend the licence for two years.

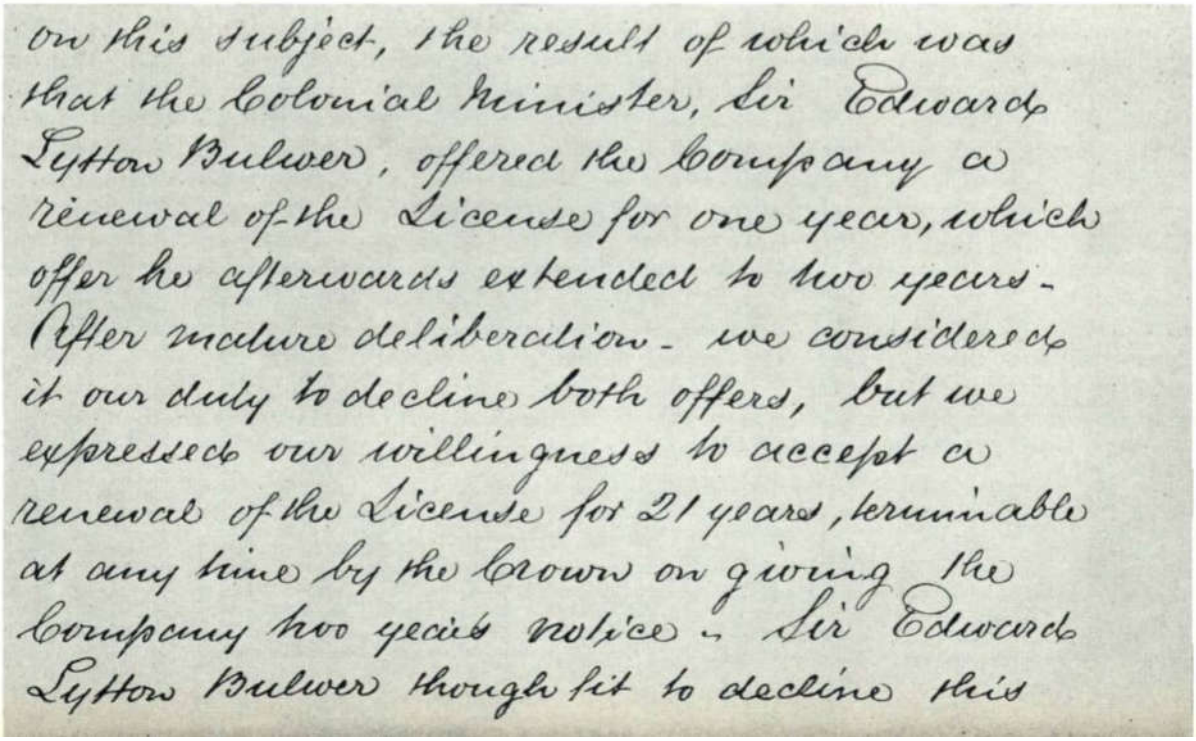
The Company's reply was an unqualified rejection of a two-year extension on the basis that such a short lease would merely contribute to uncertainty as to the future of the Indian territories. Lytton's hopes were completely shattered when the Canadian government, after repeated prodding from the Colonial Office to take action, refused to be a party to litigation. The stated basis for the Canadian refusal was that Rupert's Land would be subject to imperial, not provincial, control should the charter be proved invalid, and that Britain should consequently initiate action against the Company. But the law officers of the Crown had advised against such action. Lytton was consequently deprived of all the leverage he had sought to exert upon the Company. He was preparing a bill to facilitate acquisition of portions of the Company's territories for colonization when he was taken ill, and the legislation had not yet been passed when in June, 1859, his government was forced out of office and the Liberal party under Palmerston returned to power.

The only result of Lytton's efforts in the lands east of the Rocky Mountains was the termination of the Company's licence of exclusive trade on May 30, 1859, but this legislation had no real effect upon the Company's position. The British government made no effort to administer the territories nor would Canada accept the responsibility. So the Company remained in *de facto* control until 1869.

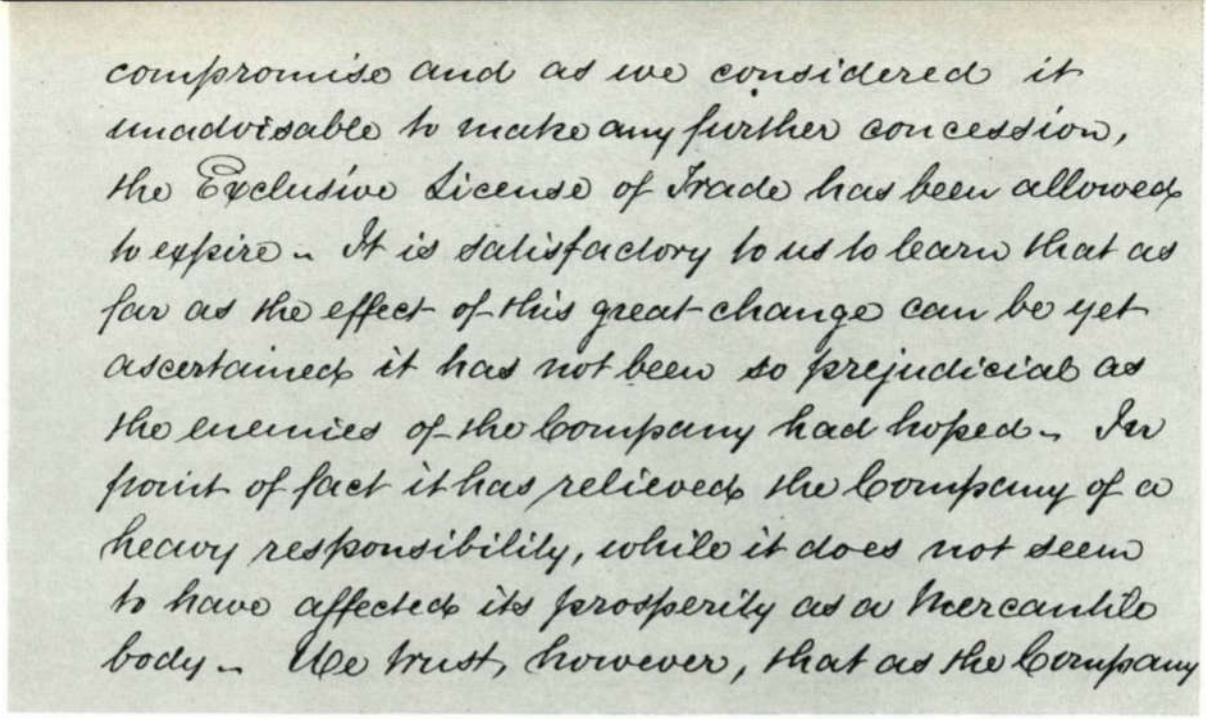
Lytton's apparent failure in these negotiations, in striking contrast to his effectiveness in British Columbia, was not so much due to the defects of the man as to the limitations of his position. If Lytton is to be criticized in his actions with regard to Rupert's Land and the licensed territories, it is because he was not keenly enough aware of these limitations. But this is to expect of him a degree of perceptiveness not granted to his contemporaries. None of his fellow politicians was willing to spend British tax money for administration of a territory in which the only apparent resources were the skins of fur-bearing animals. Canada, despite the urgings of George Brown, was not yet willing to undertake the responsibility. Lord Strathcona was correct when he observed that no less a society than the enlarged Canadian federation could have administered so large a territory or undertaken the construction of the necessary communications. In 1858, the time was not ripe for the realization of Lytton's dream of the colonization of Rupert's Land. It was not until after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the exhaustion of free land in the United States that the great migration to the Canadian prairies took place.

Until the Fraser River gold rush the same conditions prevailed on the Pacific slopes as had frustrated Lytton in the territories to the east. In the decades before 1858 the only energy observable in British North America west of the Rocky Mountains was that of the Hudson's Bay Company. It brought in the only settlers and conducted the only important trade. The primary function performed by

Part of a despatch from the Governor and Committee in London to Sir George Simpson and the Council of Rupert's Land, dated April 18th, 1860.



on this subject, the result of which was that the Colonial Minister, Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, offered the Company a renewal of the License for one year, which offer he afterwards extended to two years. After mature deliberation - we considered it our duty to decline both offers, but we expressed our willingness to accept a renewal of the License for 21 years, terminable at any time by the Crown on giving the Company two years notice - Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer thought fit to decline this


compromise and as we considered it
unadvisable to make any further concession,
the Exclusive License of Trade has been allowed
to expire. It is satisfactory to us to learn that as
far as the effect of this great change can be yet
ascertained it has not been so prejudicial as
the enemies of the Company had hoped. In
point of fact it has relieved the Company of a
heavy responsibility, while it does not seem
to have affected its prosperity as a mercantile
body. We trust, however, that as the Company

the British government was that of destructive critic. While it condemned the Company for inactivity in advancing settlement on Vancouver Island it offered no assistance to promote that objective. When thousands of miners headed for the gold fields and merchants swarmed into Victoria to profit from the miners, administration of Vancouver Island and the mainland by representatives of a fur-trade monopoly became a dangerous anachronism, and Bulwer-Lytton's prompt action to replace Company rule by Crown administration was an act of statesmanship. Now the vision and the energy of Lytton could have free play, for the resources of British Columbia could sustain its government. His energetic and enlightened action averted a serious crisis, for the miners and merchants would not long have tolerated an administration dedicated to the preservation of the commercial interests of the Hudson's Bay Company.

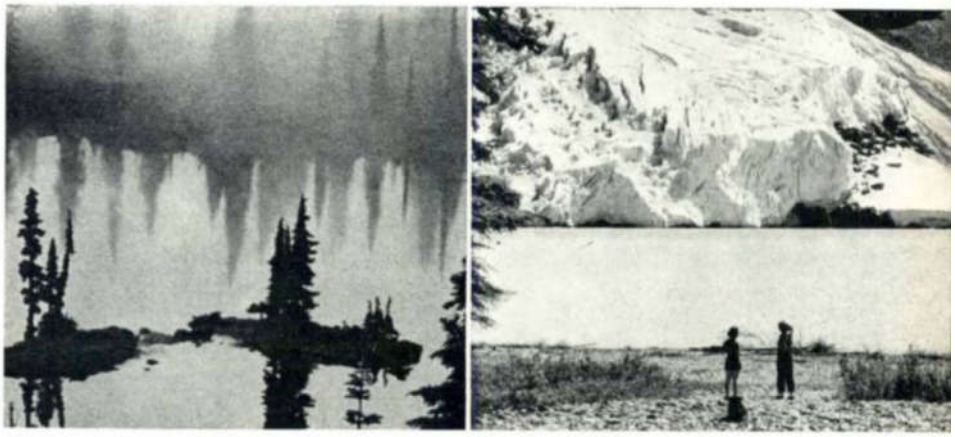
It is debatable whether the Company delayed colonization of Vancouver Island and the Pacific slope. Probably in the 1840s and early 1850s no plans of settlement would have succeeded, however zealous and enlightened their projectors. But there can be no doubt that in 1858 the continuance of Company rule would have produced turmoil in the gold fields. As an officer of the fur trade, Governor James Douglas remained dedicated to the view that settlement and independent trade were dangerous and must be restricted and if possible stamped out. But when, at Lytton's insistence, he dissociated himself from the Company, Douglas zealously applied the free-trade principles which the British government espoused. The Company would have sought to exclude Americans from the gold fields—George Simpson in February 1858 sent instructions to that effect—but Lytton wisely admitted all who came so long as they obeyed the law. The Company was helpless to enforce order; Lytton sent a detachment of the Royal Engineers and a judge who quickly established a wholesome respect for British justice.

By his contribution to the foundation of a stable British Columbia, Lytton deserves high praise. Yet the motives and characteristics of his policy were not essentially different from those underlying his actions in the territories to the east. In neither environment were Lytton and the government he represented willing to commit British funds for development. Southern Rupert's Land and the licensed territories could not become the home of a prosperous, self-sustaining community until communications facilities, in particular a railway, bridged the gap between them and the St. Lawrence basin; and in the 1850s, or for that matter thereafter, no private interests would undertake such a mammoth project without government assistance.

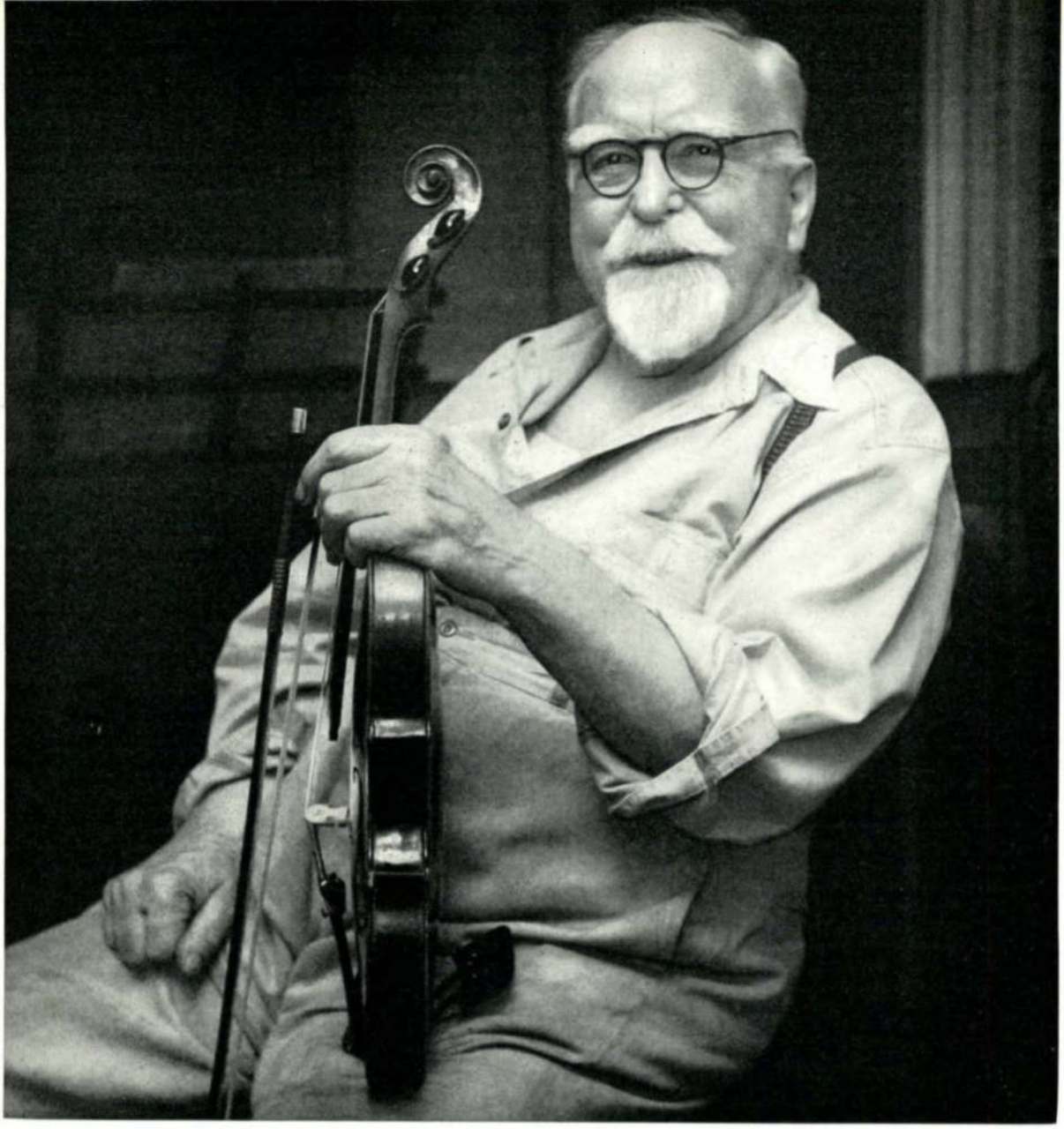
This contrast between success in British Columbia and failure to the east reflected the differing characteristics of the two problems of government. In British Columbia, Lytton was a man of the present, clearheaded in his appraisal of the requirements of the time. In Rupert's Land, the day had not yet arrived when a Lytton could convert his dreams into reality. Eventually there would be a Canadian federation prepared to undertake the administration of the territories and the construction of a railroad. In a generation or two, immigrants from Britain, Europe, and the United States would pour into the Prairie Provinces, and lands once the preserve of the fur trade would become flourishing wheat fields. But in 1858, and for the next decade, the monopoly which Lytton detested continued throughout Rupert's Land because no effective alternative could be found. ◆

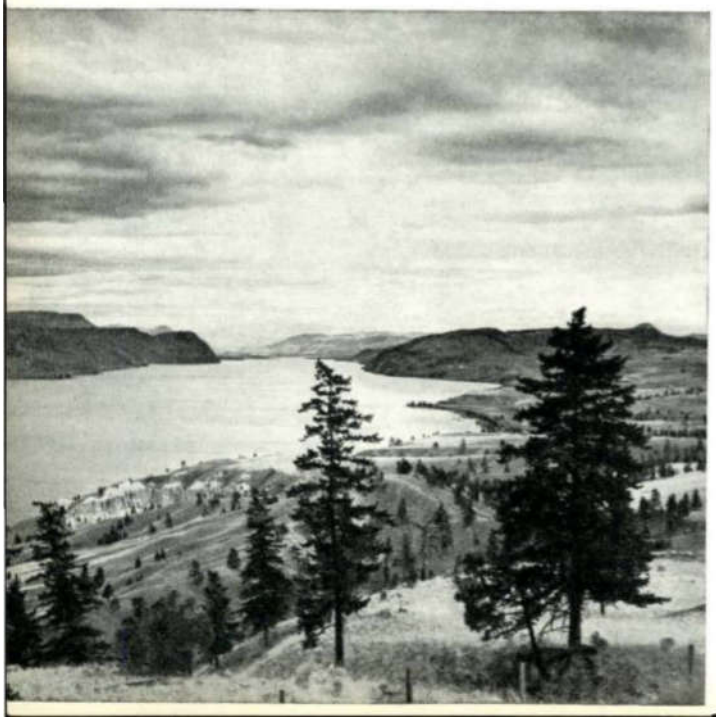
BY R. M. PATTERSON

PROVINCE OF INFINITE VARIETY



Farming, ranching, logging, hunting and trapping, travelling the byways by packhorse or canoe form the British Columbia background of R. M. Patterson, whose experiences have resulted in many articles.

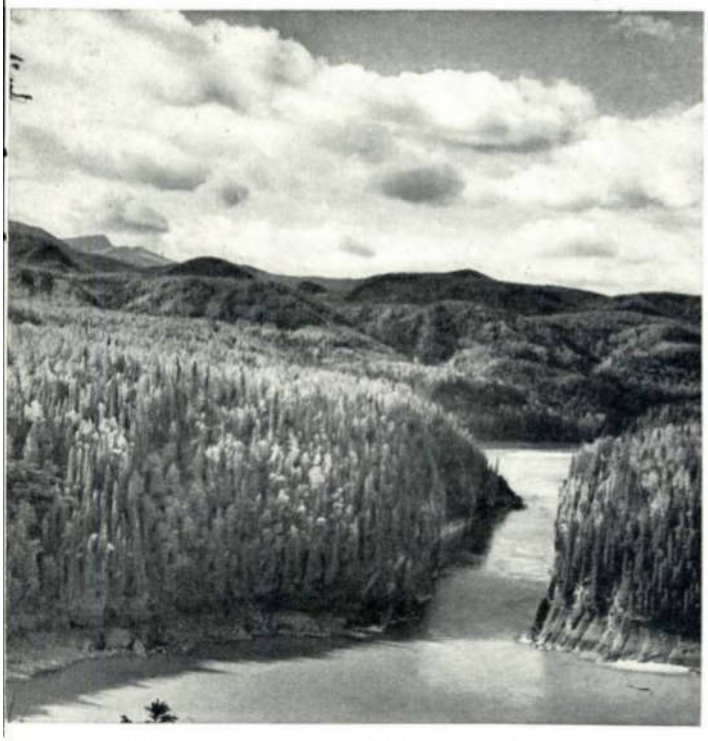




PASSING in one easy day's drive from the forests of the coast to the Interior Plateau of southern British Columbia, you will notice particularly two trees—the cedar and the ponderosa pine. The jungle thins out as you follow the Fraser upstream, the air becomes lighter and warmer, the cedars become fewer and smaller. Then they disappear except for isolated groups and individual trees hiding high up in some shadowy canyon—and the first pines make their appearance. The road bids farewell to the Fraser at Lytton and turns eastwards up the Thompson River. Soon the hillsides are bare and open, and the cliffs and bluffs, tricked out in the flaring colours of the desert, appear to have been scorched by ancient

Range country where the Thompson River broadens into Kamloops Lake.
Rosemary Gilliat

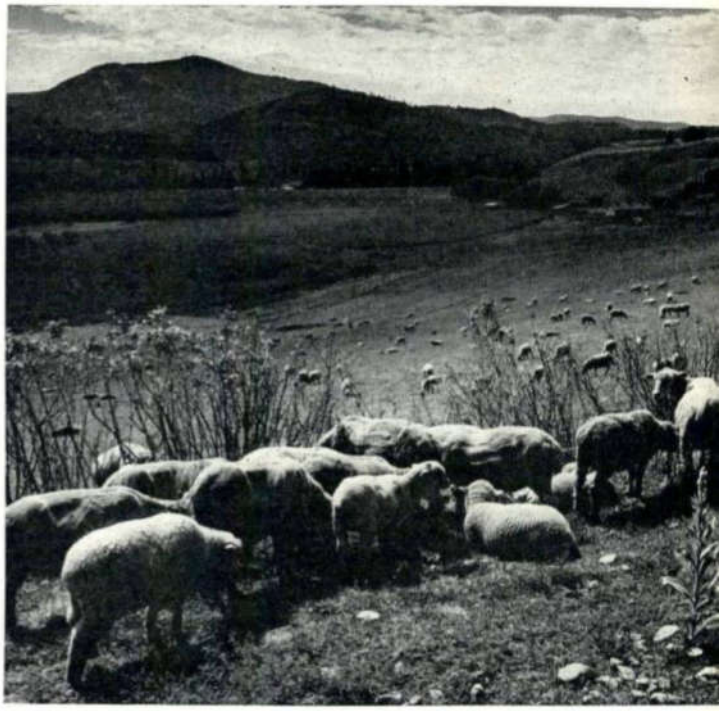
Eighty-two-year-old pioneer of the Kootenays, with a house full of souvenirs and a head full of memories.
Rosemary Gilliat



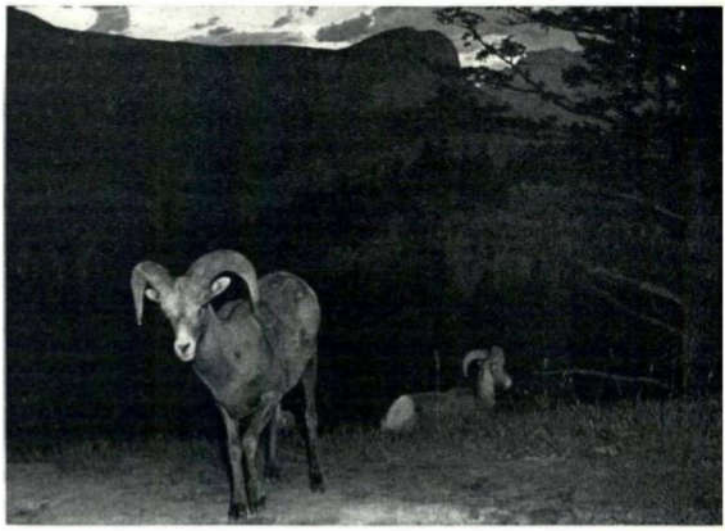
The twenty-foot canoe, right foreground, is dwarfed at Hell's Gate on the Liard River.
R. M. Patterson

fires. The road twists and climbs upwards on to the benches and the ghosts of old orchards flit by, skeletons of dead trees, stark and black amidst the olive green of the returning sage. This is the land of the sunflower and the sand rose, the cactus and the rattlesnake; it is the land of bunch-grass and its finest product, the Hereford cow. And, above all, it is the land of the giant pine with its long, shining needles and its great cones. With its snakeskin-pattern bark glowing redly against the young green of the spring meadows or the tawny grass of autumn this pine is the very emblem of the dry belt. Standing there in the dry warmth beneath the huge branches, it is hard to believe that only two hundred miles away to the westward lies Kennedy Lake, long since described by British Columbia's most famous meteorologist as "the wettest spot in North America." Yet it is so—and the difference in precipitation is from six inches per annum at Ashcroft to well over two hundred inches in the rain forests of Vancouver Island.

Across the province, from west to east, fir and cedar, pine and spruce fight it out as one crosses range after range of mountains, passing from rain forest to dry belt to forest again—until in the end the trees disappear as the Rockies pile up into the rooftree of the continent.



Sheep-farming country of the interior plateau.
Rosemary Gilliat

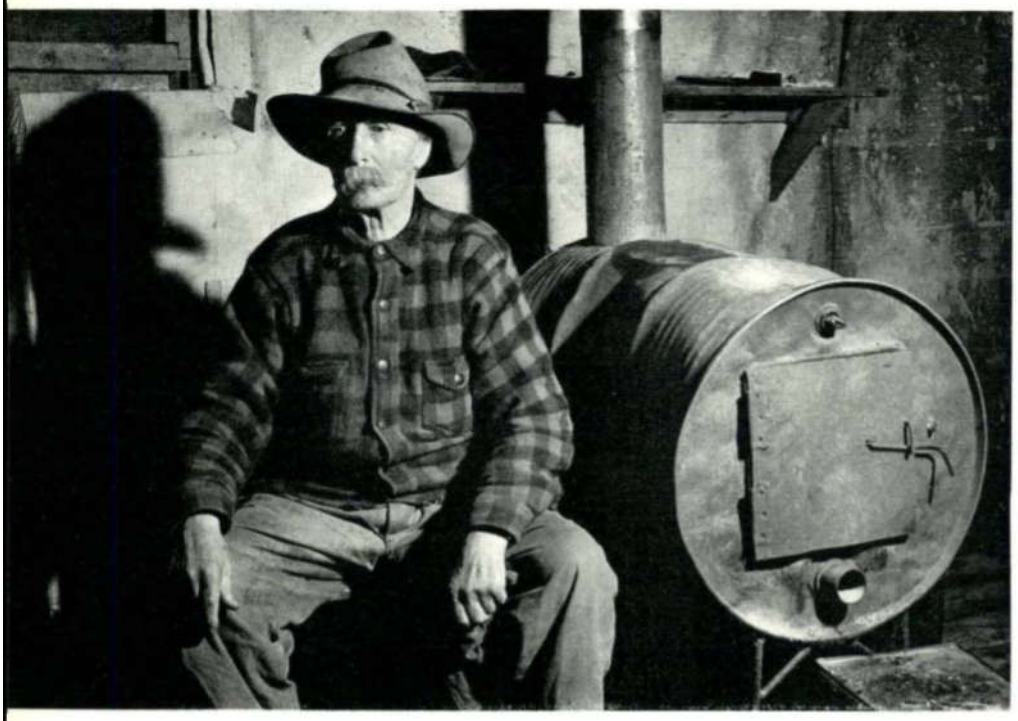


The spectacular bighorn sheep of the mountains.
Nicholas Morant

The whole vast province is like that—variable, cut to no set pattern—bewildering to the outlander.

It is a matter of choice. Here in one province a man can travel from the glaciers and the fiords of the coast, by way of the cattle ranges, the mines and the great lakes of the interior, to the oil and grain lands of the Peace River country—a land that, geographically speaking, has been stolen from Alberta. If you wish to express this change in terms of animals it becomes no less striking, for it involves

Kwakiutl carver repairing details on an old totem pole.
U.B.C.



Old-timer of northernmost B.C. has tales to tell of the Dease and Liard.
Richard Harrington

Pack-horse carries a folding canoe over mountain pass to unknown lake.
R. M. Patterson

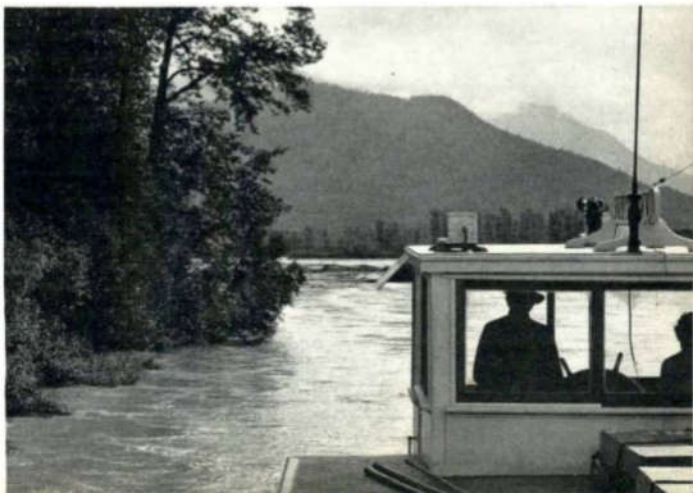
The pack-board maker works in the sun outside his cabin.
Richard Harrington

a transition from the sea otter, the hair seal, and the little cream-coloured Kermode bear to the Stone sheep, the moose, and the grizzly bear of the Rockies. Even in the skies one can see the change: the soft, vaguely luminous cloudscapes of the Pacific have here given way to the riotously magnificent Chinook skies of the eastern foothills.

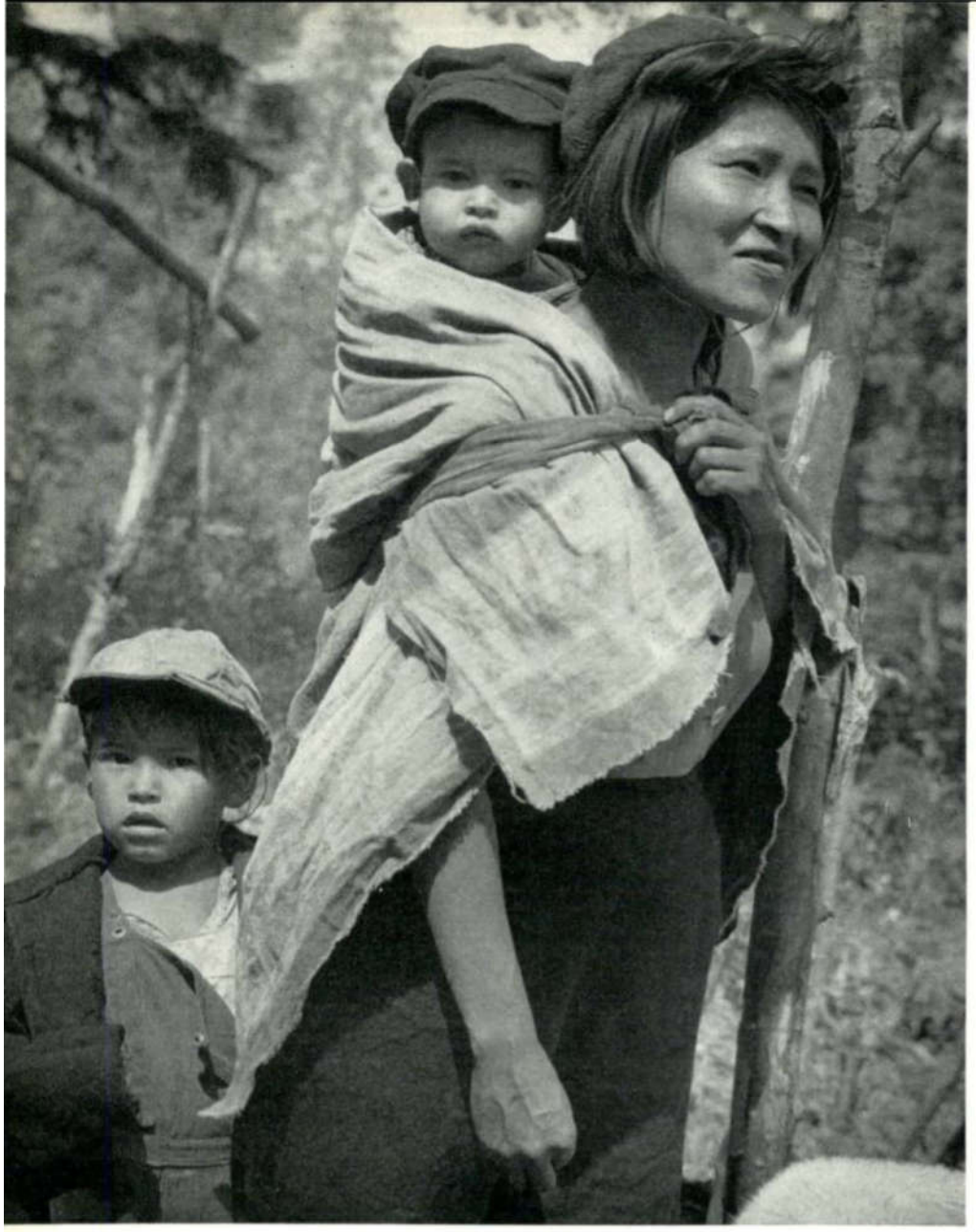
Passing from north to south the story is the same: it is as if one were to go, in Europe, direct from Lapland to the southern valleys of Gascony. In the north, in those last strongholds of the wild, the lonely canyons of the Upper Liard, the trapper freights in his supplies with the fall of the leaf. There, through the long winter, he travels over his line plying his ancient trade—an anachronism, a survival from a time gone by. In the warm sun-scorched valleys of the south his fellow British Columbians prune and spray. Upon the trapper in the frozen silence of the north the Dall sheep and the Rocky Mountain goat look down: far above the toiling fruit grower of the southern Okanagan it is the California bighorn who posts his vedettes on the spurs of the Monashee.

My first acquaintance with British Columbia is ancient history now: a job on a dairy farm in the lush, green springtime of the Lower Fraser Valley—a time, on old Sumas Lake, of hawthorn blossom and of fields of lupins that curled away from the plough in a blue unending wave. My second view was from outside looking in—from a ranch in Alberta that lay close to the Continental Divide. From that vantage point we were able to reach, with our pack train, parts of the sister province that were not nearly

so accessible to the resident British Columbians themselves. That happy state of affairs lasted for sixteen happy years, and as those years went by we came to regard those remote valleys of B.C. as a natural appanage of Alberta —or, if not quite that, at least as a part of B.C. set aside by a kind providence as a playground for the more active and enterprising of Albertans.

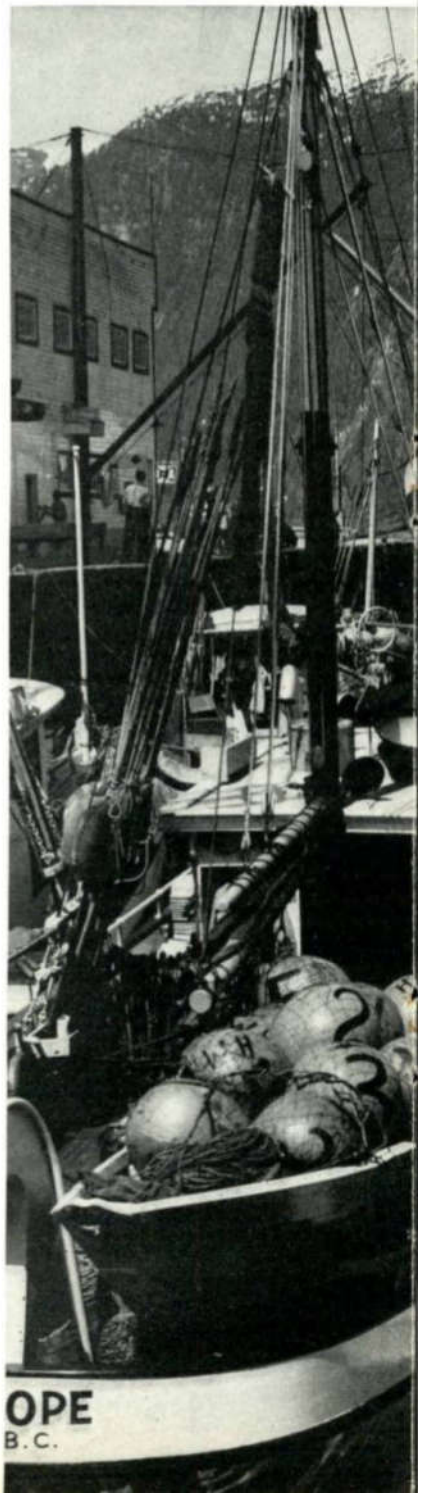


Heading up the Stikine River.
Richard Harrington



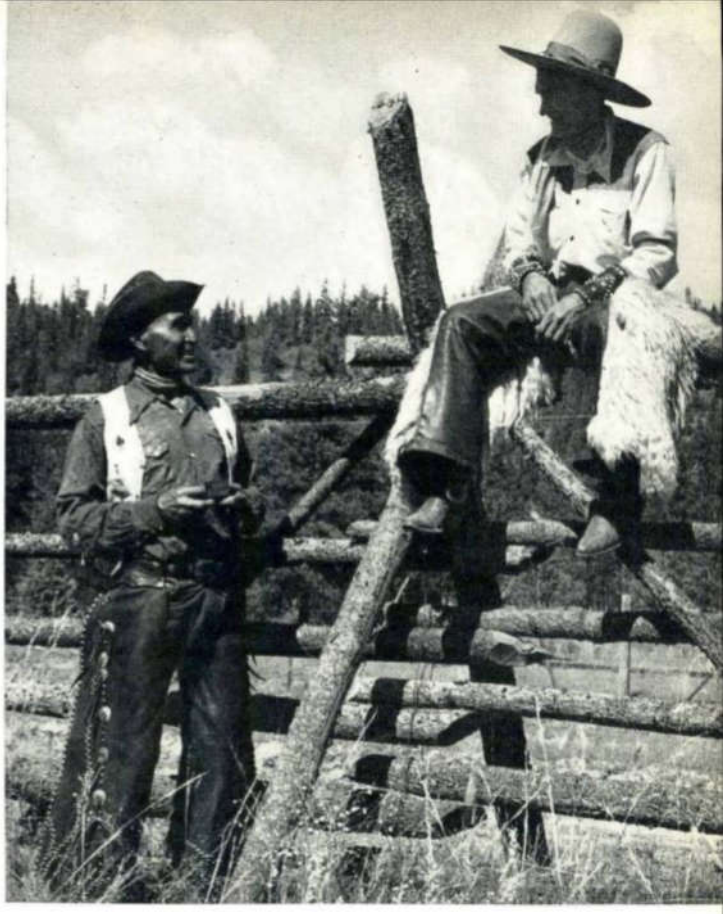
Indians of the northern interior, of Athapaskan stock, are a woodland people.
Richard Harrington

By various passes, in one or two days of mountain travel, those green fastnesses could be reached. The journey from the high, dry plateau and the windswept foothills of Alberta into the deep, silent valleys of British Columbia—not in a train or a car, but on foot or in the saddle—was, every time, a new adventure. The main range of the Rockies, the Continental Divide, is a climatic barrier. The crossing of it brings one into a new world: the forest becomes denser and more moss-grown; sound dry wood is harder to find; the wind has dropped, so that an unearthly silence pervades the meadows and the horses start to every sudden sound. Strange flowers make their bow, new trees are seen: the mountain ash, the western larch, the cedar. And, seen from the deeply incised valleys of the western slope, the mountains seem to tower to greater heights. . . .

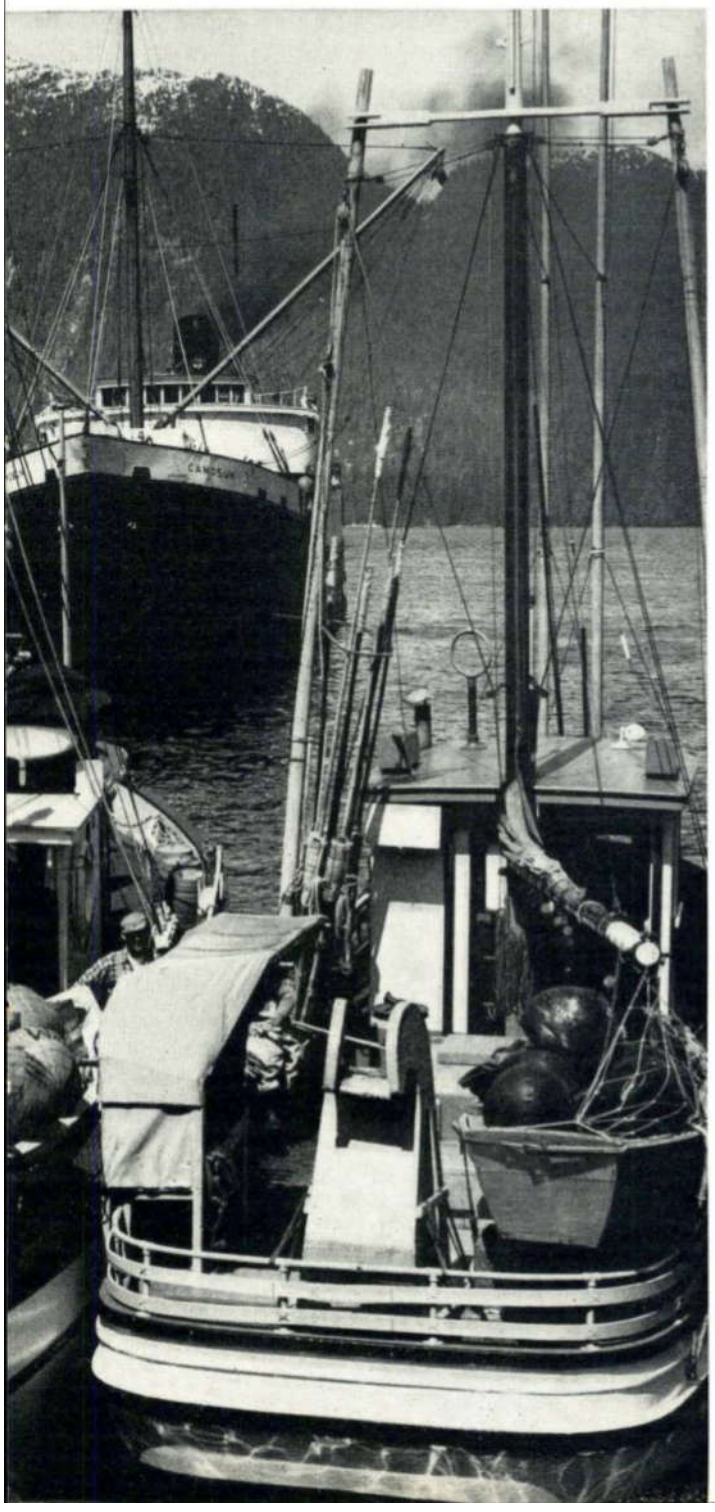


Fishing boats find haven in the coastal fiords.
Mary MacLennan

Cronies in the ranchlands of the Chilcotin.
Richard Harrington



The rarest of all creatures to be met with on those western forays was man. But other British Columbians were there to greet us on the borderline: at one crossing of the Divide we rode head on into a grizzly—and once, clambering up out of Alberta on a blazing summer afternoon, I stuck my head over the summit ridge of the Three Isle Lake mountains to find myself staring, at a few yards range, into the astonished countenance of a British Columbian goat. He was red with the sandstone dust and he was hot and weary from climbing, and five thousand feet below him I could see the shingle bars of the Palliser River. We gazed at one another for a moment in mute surprise; then the goat turned and loped away down the rocky slope, to vanish over some impossible precipice, leaving me perched on the backbone of the continent, alone with the silence and the sun.



That is the British Columbia of the high Rockies—but in the southern half of the province the Rockies are shared with Alberta. North of the Smoky River the Rockies belong entirely to B.C., together with every living thing in their lonely meadows, east and west. There you will find the magnificent Stone sheep, merging slowly into Fannin's sheep and then the Dall. What other province, territory or state can show such wide variations in that most spectacular of beasts, the mountain sheep?

Go farther north and east. Cross the border into British Columbia by canoe, as did the first white man, coming by way of the Peace River from the east, or by the Liard River from the Northwest Territories. There you will find a land of prairie, small forest and muskeg—a country cut by fast-running rivers, old highways of the fur traders.

What has this far northeastern plateau in common with the gardens of Victoria, with Vancouver's lawns and flowering trees, with the silent inlets of the coast, the giant cedar and Douglas fir of Vancouver Island and the slow-crawling glaciers of the Coast Range? Nothing. The hard-riding stockman of the Chilcotin cattle ranges, the lumberjacks

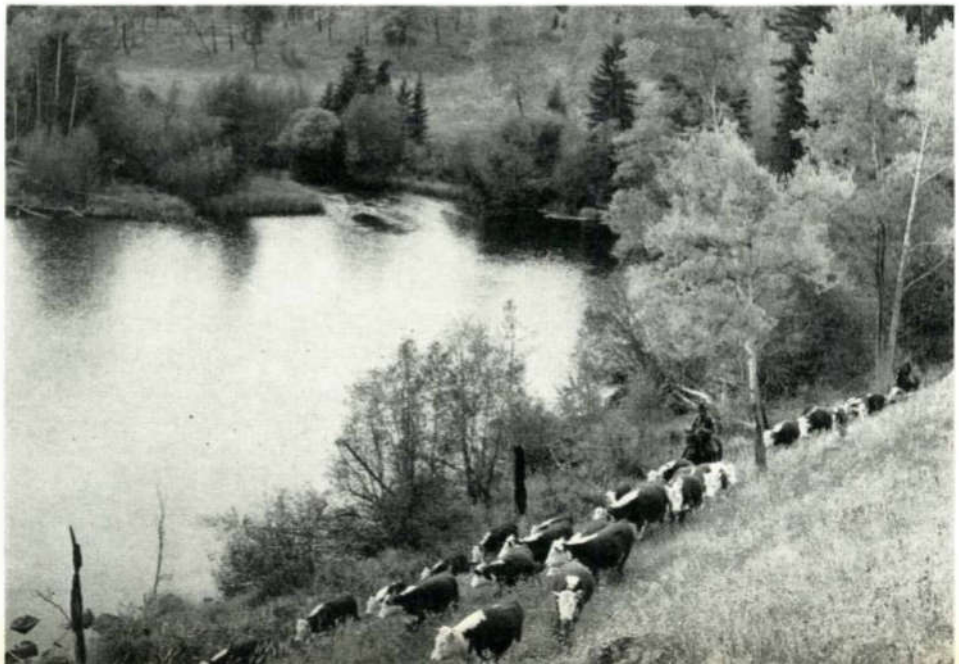
Salmon from the torrent in Bulkley Canyon.
Richard Harrington

and the fisherman of the coast, the fruit grower of the Okanagan—what do they know or care about this land beyond the Rockies? Nothing—and indeed less than nothing, for to most of them it is Ultima Thule, Siberia, the Land-that-God-Forgot; a wild man's country where only a wild man would care to live. Yet it is from that northeastern corner, till so recently the stepchild of official Victoria, that will flow the "black gold" and the natural gas that are today the stepping stones to fortune.

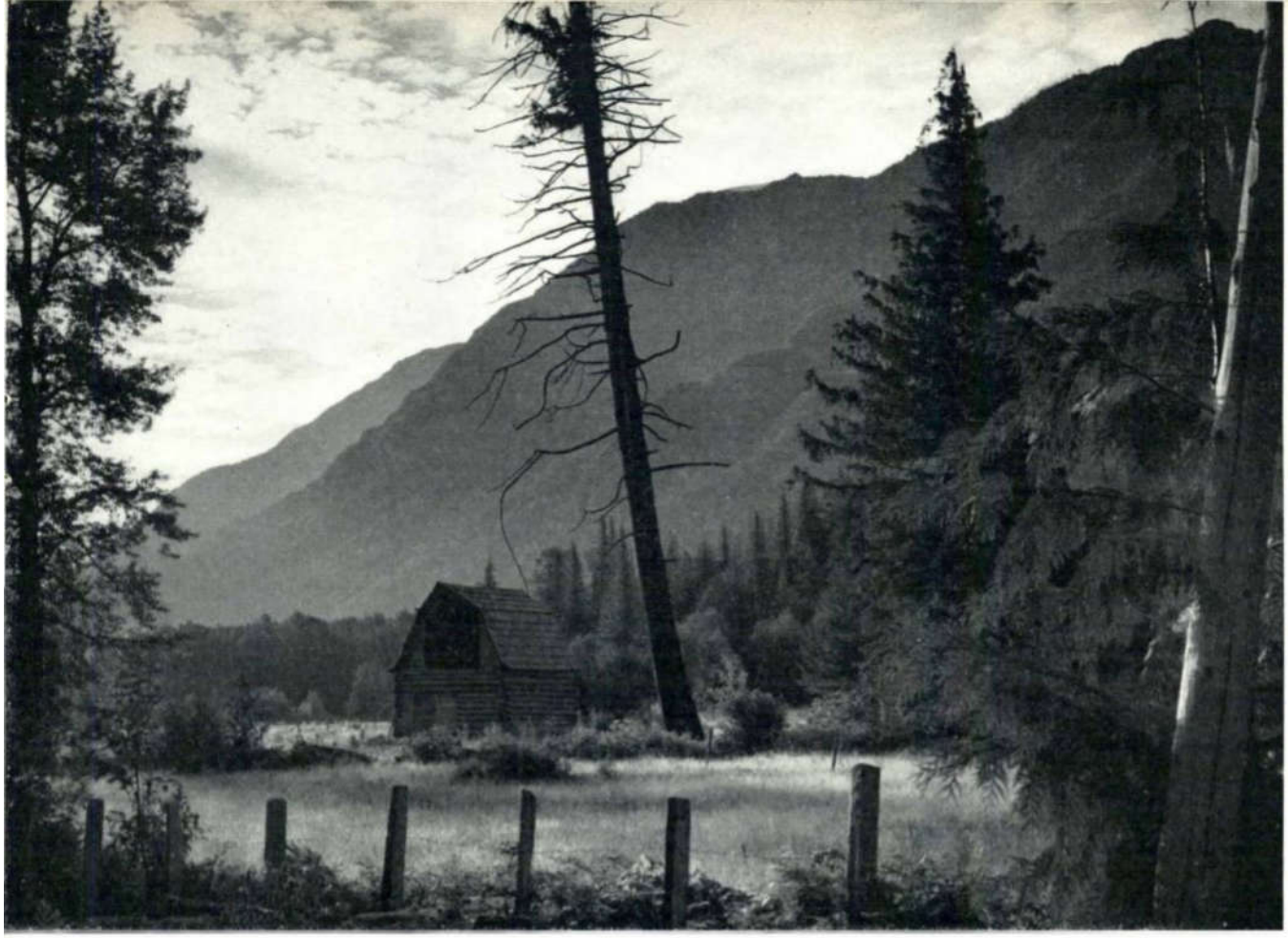
In that far country that drains to the Mackenzie you will find big grain fields, foothill cattle ranches, long traplines, and lonely lakes where the migrating wild fowl pattern the autumn skies in ordered, wavering skeins. A prairie land—and in it you meet a certain type of man: a man created by the country in which he lives, by its wide horizons and its extremes of heat and cold, and by the fact that, almost alone of British Columbians, his vision is not limited by towering mountain ranges.

And then go elsewhere in the province—in fact go anywhere you please between the Charlottes and the Rockies or from Atlin Town to Trail—and, no matter in what valley or on what high plateau fate lands you, you will be certain to meet with some new, strange and interesting type of man. He will be sure to tell you—in his cabin, over his camp fire, in his office—about something that you have never heard of, never dreamed of before. He will tell it vividly, with a wealth of imagery and often with expressions that are far from parliamentary. Be wise and listen to him, for it is in sharing, perhaps for one night only, in this man's past that you will capture something of the endless variety of British Columbia.

A cougar hunter of Vancouver Island will tell you tales of terrorized west coast settlements and of children afraid to venture over the jungle paths that are cut through the dense tangles of salal. A fruit grower of the southern Okanagan will explain to you with lavish detail the economic value of the rattlesnake, the destroyer, he avers, of the mice who would otherwise strip the bark and kill his trees. The enthusiast who slaughters too many of these valuable reptiles is, you are made to realize, not a benefactor but a menace. A sheep herder of the Adams Plateau has wild tales to tell of the nightly visitations of the grizzlies: a white-mustached old-timer, once a lineman on the old Yukon Telegraph trail north of Hazelton, will tell strange stories of warped and bitter feuds over absurd trifles in the snowy silence of the northern bush. If you happen to sit next to a trained nurse on the northbound plane, and if she tells you that she is a full-blooded Haida from the Queen Charlottes, listen to her carefully for it is of the Viking past of her own people and of their raids and their red slaughters that she is talking. Listen (but not without discrimination) to a dude-wrangler of the northern plateau telling how the timber wolves and the grizzlies hang around his camps, waiting to snap up the cook of the outfit or some heedless, unarmed dude: it is always entertaining to hear a genuine artist laying it on with a shovel—especially when he thinks you are believing him.



Herefords on the three-week drive from range to market.
Richard Harrington



Early morning in the Bella Coola valley.
H. D. von Tiesenhausen

Go to some quiet country house on Vancouver Island if you want to get a connoisseur's verdict on an old Bukhara rug. And then go north to the great Stikine River. Go upstream to Telegraph Creek on one of the last of the B.C. riverboats and, as you go, listen to the talk of the rivermen and see for yourself, east of the Coast Range and far from salt water, a seal drive a mighty salmon out of the river and chase it across a dry shingle bar, each creature silhouetted and sparkling against the low morning sun.

Hear the old-timers while you may for they are departing, and the old life with them: no more will that well-remembered voice be heard, in the cool veranda of the most northerly ranch in B.C., with the chuckle and rustle of Fizz Creek down below, telling of the long haul of the winter mail by dog-team from Atlin to Telegraph Creek, of placer mining on the Dease, of digging for mastodon ivory.

See and hear all these things and many more besides. See the incredible hordes of a great salmon run jostling their way up the crowded Bulkley River: see the wild fowl flighting down the Rocky Mountain Trench. Turn, one by one, all the pages of the changeful book of the wilderness and know from it that man, inspired by nature's prodigality of invention, will build in British Columbia, in the fullness of time, cities and a people rich in their infinite variety. ◆

Camp fire on the wagon trail
Richard Harrington

LETTERS OUTWARD 1688-96

A review of the 1957 volume of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, a copy-book of letters, commissions, and instructions from London. Edited by E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, with an introduction by K. G. Davies.

BY RICHARD GLOVER

SUCH purely mechanical defects as lack of space, desks and attendants often make it most inconvenient for private concerns to permit research into their records. Therefore many companies exclude scholars from their archives, and for long the Hudson's Bay Company was one of them. The policy was natural enough but it had two unfortunate results. The first was that some scholars —or quasi-scholars—accused the Company of suppressing information from interested motives; the second was that when, in the face of these accusations, the Company switched its policy and began publishing its records it felt bound to issue collections of documents in their entirety, regardless of the value of various parts of the collections.

It is good, of course, to have documents published, yet there are some that can be dispensed with. The present volume offers an example of the disadvantages of the Hudson's Bay Record Society's policy. For instance, we have here on successive pages royal commissions granted by James II to George Geyer and John Marsh as governors of the Company's posts at York and Albany respectively. These documents are all but verbally identical—even to such misspellings as "Occation" and "the thirtith day of May, *1688*"; what profit is there in printing both? Further space is taken up with commissions granted by the Company to its officers, with more commissions granted by William III, and with nearly identical copies of sailing instructions to the Company's ships' captains; in all these there is much unprofitable repetition.

Another weakness of the policy of printing collections of documents exactly as they stand in the Archives is that we are given here a one-way correspondence only. The full correspondence of the Company was, of course, a two-way proposition. There were "Letters Outward," from London to the Bay, and "Letters Inward" from the Bay to London. But the book here printed contains only the "Letters Outward." These by themselves are, of course, no more informative than one end of a half-heard telephone conversation. One cannot but feel that a much more useful way to compile a volume would be to print selected documents which would give both sides of the correspondence. In the present case, one must add, such a procedure could not have been perfectly followed. As the general editor explains in his preface most of the Letters Inward for this period are missing; "all that remains of the documents coming home from the Bay are the accounts from York Fort and from Albany, the order for keeping watch at Albany, and a couple of brief records of the trials of homesick and mutinous servants." Yet even these might have more interest than the repetitive legal jargon of Royal Commissions. For example, the maintenance of discipline in a small party of men so remote from all ordinary resources of the law must have been a tricky problem; one would welcome even a little light on how it was managed. One might welcome, too, the evidence given to the Committee on 29 November 1693, by a French prisoner taken in the recapture of Albany in the preceding spring, as a substitute for James Knight's lost report of an event which was the Company's most important success in the whole period this book covers.

Finally, the present policy gives us a volume without a logical beginning or logical ending. Neither date—1688 to 1696—provides a landmark of any special significance in the Company's history. They just happen to be the dates at which the Company's clerk began and finished one particular copy-book for entering what would nowadays be the carbon file copies of his correspondence.

In spite, however, of this criticism, the documents before us do not lack interest. On 21 May 1691 the Committee wrote its governor at York Fort "particularly to be spareing in your Flints (tho' it seems a very small thing) and in your brandy, they being both French Commoditys and hard to come." This passage reveals an extraordinary situation. England had been for two years at war with France. Flints were an indispensable munition of war, without which a flintlock musket could not be fired. Here is an English concern dependent for these munitions on a contraband trade with the enemy. Were flints, then, not knapped in England? Was the army equally, or largely, dependent on the enemy for its supplies? Does the apparent scarcity of skilled knappers of flints account for the long life of the matchlock musket? On this point the private documents of a commercial company raise questions of first-rate public interest to the military historian.

Reading these documents also leaves one with considerable respect for the sound commonsense and the enterprise of the rulers of the Company. One voyage a year—and not always that—carried at most a single annual

Dr. Glover, associate professor of history at University of Manitoba, is a member of the Record Society.

exchange of mail between London and the Bay. The Committee had somehow to run their affairs successfully in spite of a constant lack of up-to-date information and little control over what was actually done in North America. The range of their interests is impressive. They are eager to expand, and to found new posts at Churchill and at some mysterious, but great, "River which lyes to the Northward of Churchill River." Minerals and castoreum would be valuable if only the Company's officers could secure them; and, though the Company's officers failed, the Committee's interest in these products never ceased. The comfort of their men was also a lively concern to the Committeemen. So they supply iron stoves exactly "According to your directions with all the apuretenaces," requested from the Bay. But they add the warning "our Deputy Governor whoe hath lived 20 yeares in Cold Countereyes is of opinion you had better have them Smaller then bigger then the first Except you have very large Roomes," and they recommend the value of opening windows for fifteen minute periods "to purifie the Roome" and prevent distempers of the head.

Given the remoteness of the Company's directors from the scene of its operations, it was most important that they should be able to trust the integrity and ability of the men on the spot—the governors in charge of their affairs by the Bay. Yet the integrity of Governor Geyer at York was suspect. In the very first despatch in this book the Committee are found writing him that they had received "many Complaints . . . of the great Quantity of Beaver that you have Concealed to Ship home for your owne use at private Opertunityes;" in other words, their governor was reported to be robbing them. Proof of the charge, punishment and replacement of the man were all equally difficult; what could be done in such circumstances? The conduct of the Committee was shrewd. They let the governor know the charges laid against him; they promise him confidence and support so "that it shalbe noe bodyes fault but yours if Wee have not a Thriveing & Flourishing Trade;" and they confirm him in office for "Three yeares." In other words, he is warned and given a limited, but generous, time in which to redeem his character by good service. It may be said that this was the only sensible thing to do, but one doubts whether all employers would have the wisdom to do it, or the ability to do it so well.

Perhaps significantly, this shrewdly drafted despatch is signed by John Churchill, Governor of the Company and future Duke of Marlborough. He is a man of whom Mr. Davies might well have told us more.

As Mr. Davies notes, from its foundation in 1670 to the English Revolution of 1688, the Company relied heavily on the influence at Court to aid them against interlopers and foreign competitors. Its first three governors were all chosen because they were courtiers who could secure the support of the Royal prerogative. Prince Rupert, first in the line, had taken a real and helpful interest in the Company, but he had left most of the detail to the Deputy Governor, Sir James Hayes. On Rupert's death, the Duke of York became Governor and held the post till 1685 when he succeeded to the throne as King James II. York, too, was at times useful to the Company, when matters of high policy were at stake; but he would sign no letters, rarely attended meetings, and was sometimes judged to require dividends as a stimulus to action. When York resigned, the Company turned to John Churchill, future Duke of Marlborough, not as a businessman, but as another powerful courtier, brother to one of the King's mistresses and uncle to his ablest son, the bastard Duke of Berwick.

One would not initially expect Marlborough to pay more attention to details than the Duke of York had done; and one questions Mr. Davies' correctness in his diagnosis of a clash in 1690 between Marlborough and the deputy governor, Sir Edward Dering. He says that Dering summoned an extraordinary General Court in August "against Marlborough's wishes," but without quoting an authority for the statement. Marlborough, however, can have had little time for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1690. Then the Revolution of 1688 was over; James II had fled from England; his successor, William III, was campaigning in Ireland; Marlborough had very pressing responsibilities as one of Queen Mary's Council in England. Nor was he long in England. On 7 August he was ordered to command the force destined to capture Cork and Kinsale—ports by which the Irish rebels maintained contact with France; on the 26th he sailed for Ireland; he did not return till 28 October. None of these things are mentioned by Mr. Davies, though, if it is true, as he implies, that in this period Dering's policy triumphed over Marlborough's, they explain how such a relative pigmy could score off such a giant. We might also have been told somewhere that when Sir Stephen Evance succeeded Marlborough in 1692 he did so after the latter had not only been disgraced, but thrown into the Tower on a charge of high treason. Marlborough is, we believe, the only gaolbird in the whole list of the Company's governors; certainly the only one who has languished in such august confinement on so serious a charge. He was also the last courtier-governor. 1688 made an end of the power of royal prerogative to influence or overrule courts of law; with that constitutional change the value of courtier-governors ceased.

Concluded on page 54

An eye-witness account of the
British Columbia gold rush of 1858

BY CARL FRIESACH

Note: *In 1858 Dr. Carl Friesach, a 37-year-old Austrian mathematics professor, was travelling in North America when he heard of the Fraser River gold rush and decided to go and see it. This account of his is reprinted by permission from the* British Columbia Historical Quarterly *of July 1941, the translation having been made by E. E. Delavault and Isabel MacInnes from a pamphlet then in possession of Dr. Robie L. Reid. Crossing from Washington, Dr. Friesach arrived in Victoria in the early hours of September 6, and wrote:*

THE GOLD RUSH ON T

WE put up at the Hotel de France, a building not yet completed, and which provided so little accommodation that we had to leave the greater part of our baggage in the neighbouring store. After an excellent breakfast, which somewhat compensated for the poor accommodation, I took a walk through the town. Victoria, which had in the course of the year 1858 sprung up . . . from a small Hudson's Bay Post to the dignity of a small town, had a population of about one thousand at this time. . . . The more active part of the town lies in the neighbourhood of the harbour, to which three streets lead. The houses, with one exception, are built of wood and in such a flimsy manner that a hurricane would certainly carry the whole town away. The streets are not paved and

HE FRASER

are very muddy in rainy weather. At the South end of the town opposite the Hotel de France, lies the Hudson's Bay Company's fort, which is surrounded by a palisade enclosing also a warehouse. Further inland the town is mostly made up of tents. In the harbour were three wooden wharves built by merchants of the town who charge a toll to the ships which tie up to them.

Next day at dawn he sailed from Victoria on the S.S. Seabird. *But as the bell for breakfast was being rung at 7.15 there were cries of "Fire!" and black smoke began to billow up from a hatchway. Several passengers made a rush for the two lifeboats, only one of which was seaworthy, and a panic threatened to break out.* After a while, however, the pilot was able to restore some order, partly by persuasion and partly by threatening the crowd with his revolver. . . . I hastily buckled on my arms, revolver, and hunting knife, and shouldered my knapsack which contained some linen, my diary, and my two most precious possessions, a letter of credit and a pocket chronometer.

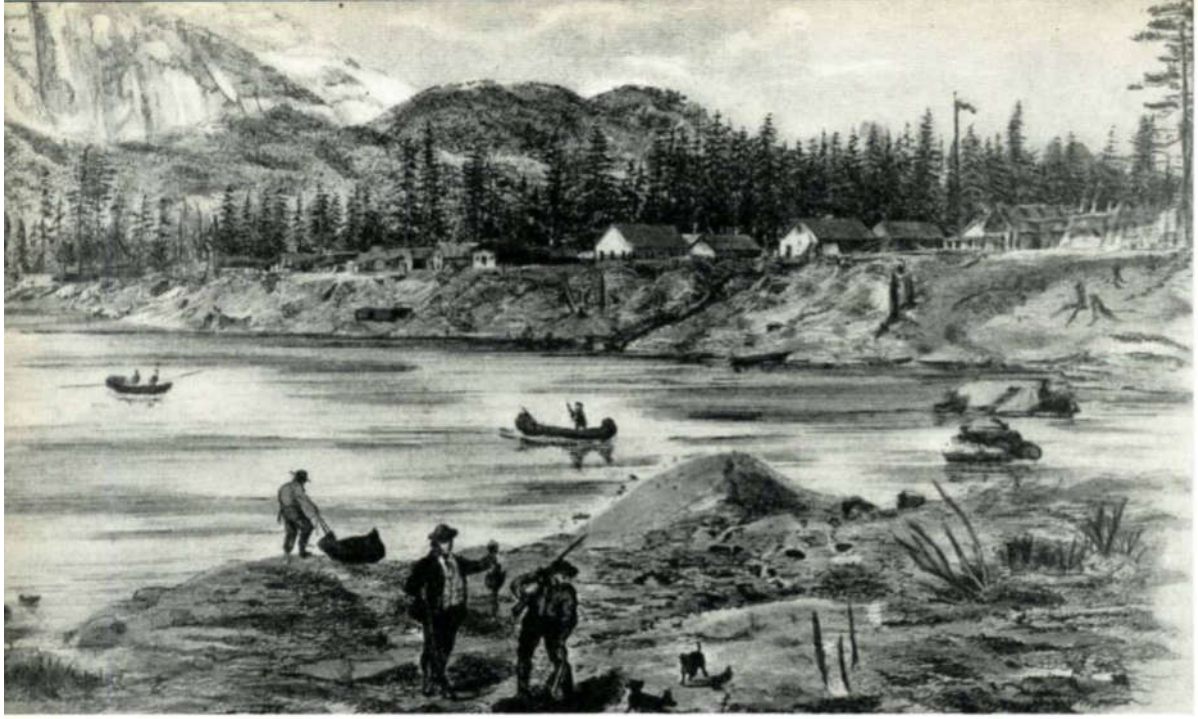
Fortunately the flaming ship ran up on a sand bar and swung round against a rock which served admirably as a landing stage, on what is now known as Discovery Island. The cloud of smoke attracted the S.S. Wilson G. Hunt *which steamed to the rescue. Having picked up most of the survivors, she took them up the Fraser to Fort Langley. There—*

We moved at once on board the S.S. *Umatilla*, which was due to sail for Fort Hope in the early hours of the morning. Unfortunately the boat was not comfortably fitted up. It did not contain any cabins and even mattresses and blankets were lacking; the floor of the saloon was so covered with coal dust that it was impossible to lie down without getting very dirty. Moreover the passengers, who were mostly miners, were so numerous that it was difficult to find sleeping room. Finally two of us lay down on the dining table, another under it. Another, too fastidious in the matter of cleanliness, spent the whole night sitting on a bench. . . .

The next morning we were awakened early by the noise of the machinery, but our departure was postponed until 8 a.m. by a thick fog which perceptibly lowered the temperature. When the fog lifted we had a wonderful panorama of the Cascade mountains [which appeared to be] scarcely a half mile distant with their strange jagged peaks and the ice-clad Mount Baker. We reached the mountains about ten o'clock, and from that time on we travelled through the most wonderful mountain landscape. . . .

Some of the passengers had the gold fever so badly that they felt they must search the sands on the shore, but were disappointed when they did not find the smallest dust in their pan. They were still busy washing the sand when a few Indians came down stream in canoes, and in spite of the cold wind their only clothing was a woollen blanket which sometimes fell from their shoulders with the exertion of paddling.

On September 9 we started at dawn. It was a cold and clear morning. Unfortunately we were prevented from enjoying the beautiful landscape by a strong wind, which,



Hope, with H B C fort at extreme right, a few years after the Fraser rush. B.C. Archives

blowing in the direction of our course, caused the sparks from the smokestack to fall all about us, burning holes in our hats and clothes.

The shores began to show some animation. Indian lodges were alternating with the tents of the miners, of whom we encountered quite a number on the sand banks. At 8 a.m. we found ourselves only 200 feet distant from the landing at Fort Hope, but the current was so strong that our ship took a full half hour to reach the landing.

Fort Hope is a tent city sheltering a few hundred on the left bank of the Fraser. . . . The valley is thickly wooded and is watered by two creeks which flow into the Fraser near the village. There is a Hudson's Bay Company's fort near the village. James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver Island, was staying there at the time, during a tour of inspection of the upper Fraser Valley. Although neither the *Hunt* nor the *Umatilla* belonged to the Company owning the ill-fated *Seabird*, yet the shipwrecked passengers were all transported to Fort Hope for the tickets bought in Victoria. In such things the travelling public in America is very considerately treated. Near-by is an important Indian settlement.

As soon as we landed we went to pay our respects to the Governor. When he heard that we could only spend three or four days on our trip, he recommended us to visit Fort Yale and, if possible, to go as far as the Grand Canyon, and he gave us a letter of introduction to the officer at the Fort.

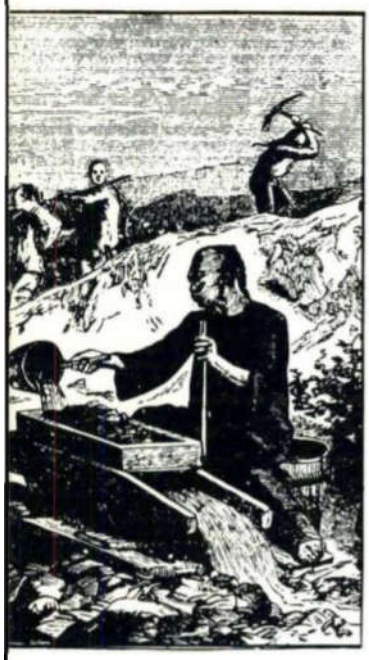
We immediately prepared to proceed on our trip. We had been advised to use an Indian canoe going up-stream, because the Indians were the most reliable guides on account of their knowledge of the river and their experience in canoe work. We were, however, unable to secure Indian guides and had to be satisfied with American rivermen.

The boat could comfortably seat 8-10 people, and there were, including the two boatmen, only six of us, but a forge-bellows, which had to be taken to Fort Yale, took up most of the room in the boat.

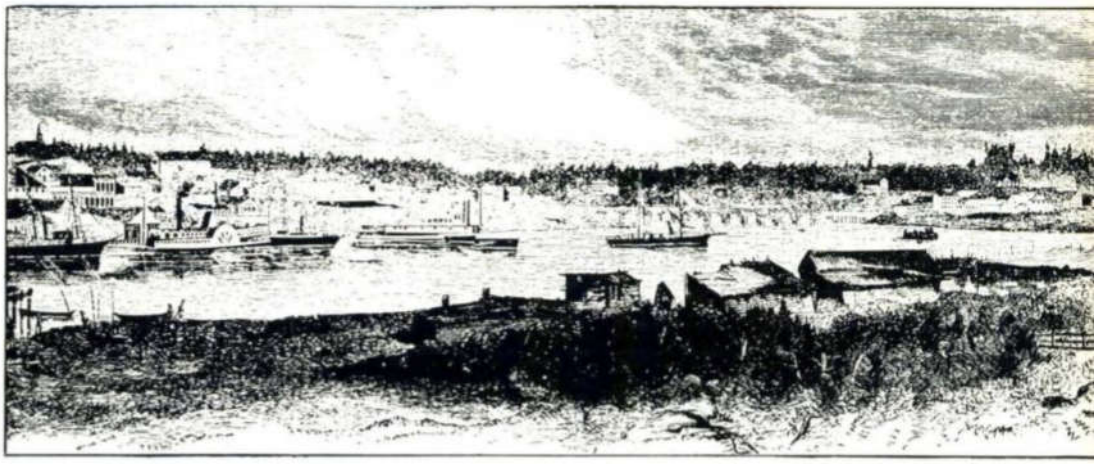
At first we rowed along the left bank, where the current was not so strong, and fair progress made during the first hour. . . . We soon reached a bend of the river where the current was so strong that oars were useless, and part of the company were compelled to disembark and tow the canoe by a rope, while others stayed in the canoe to prevent it from being damaged by the submerged rocks. . . .

On arriving at Fort Yale . . . we went to the village to call on the officer in command . . . [who] after perusing the letter of introduction given us by the Governor, promised to let us have some Indian guides as soon as possible who would take us up the river to the Canyon. . . .

Our urgent need for food induced us to cut the interview short. As we wandered among the tents we noticed a large cabin, displaying the sign, "American Restaurant." The only table was occupied by three wild-looking men, one of whom was recognized by one of my friends as "Captain Pocahontas." In spite of our repugnance, we were compelled to sit at the table, and while awaiting our food, they talked with us and invited us to drink with them, but we refused on the pretext that we drank nothing but water. They were quite insulted at our refusal, and it looked as if we were going to be mixed up in a quarrel; but we



Chinese miners worked old diggings.



Early Victoria, point of departure for the Fraser River steamers.

remained calm and casually showed our weapons, and perhaps, because they had more enemies than friends among the bystanders, they departed, swearing as they went.

The Gold Rush had attracted a large number of adventurers of the worst kind, and a number of bad characters whom the vigilance committee of San Francisco had sent away were to be found at Fort Yale in 1856 [*sic*; 1858]. . . .

Though our meal consisted only of old fish, dried salmon, and almost undrinkable coffee, we had to pay several dollars for it; nevertheless we enjoyed it after the hard day's work. We then took a stroll around the camp, in the course of which we noticed a wonderful display of insects which decorated the walls of the tents. The place showed, at that time, great animation and might have contained three thousand inhabitants. The majority of these lived in tents, a few only in frame cabins.

It would have been difficult to find in one place a greater mixture of different nationalities. Americans were undoubtedly in the majority—California, especially had sent a large contingent. Then followed Germans, French, and Chinese. Next came Italians, Spaniards, Poles, etc. The feminine population consisted of only six. Many Indians lived in the neighbourhood, who on the whole were on friendly footing with the Whites. In spite of the rough life and the privations arising from such a life in a new land, almost all had a healthy and happy appearance. The tents stood in groups, partly on the river bank and partly in the bush. The river, which here flows between a double wall of very high and rugged mountains, runs with many windings and whirlpools and makes navigation very dangerous. Hardly a day passes without some life being lost in the strong current. . . . As we waited for the Indian guides we resolved to visit Hill's Bar. A canoe took us across the river, and we reached the camp by a three-quarter hour walk along the bank. We found the river bank covered with miners for the distance of over a mile. Some of them were digging in the sand, others working at their rockers, others at their sluices. A sluice is a trough made of thin boards, a klafter* or so long, built on a slight incline; the gold-bearing sand is piled up at the end of the trough and is slowly washed down with the water, and the particles of gold contained in the sand are deposited in the bottom of the trough where they are retained by various devices. These consist mostly of a number of asperities and little hollows, amalgamated copper plates, and little depressions filled with quicksilver. When a certain amount of sand has been washed down the trough the bottom is carefully searched for gold particles, the quicksilver is distilled in iron retorts, the gold remaining in the vessel in the form of a shapeless mass called granulation. Experience has shown that this process derives a much larger quantity of gold than the rocker. However, the establishment of a sluice entails quite an expense; small partnerships, of six or eight partners, being generally formed to put one up. I was astonished at the enormous amount of gold which was found at Hill's Bar. Nearly all of those we spoke to reported very satisfactory results. A large number considered $30 per day an average production and assured us that they had taken as much as $80 to $100 on exceptionally good days. However, there are others who obtain only $4 to $5 a day, a few feet away from the lucky ones. There is hardly a more hazardous form of work than gold washing. The test of the pan often gives a good result when the soil is later on found to be hardly worth working. . . .

After we had watched the miners for about an hour we purchased a small quantity of gold dust for a souvenir, and returned to Fort Yale, pleased to have seen with our own eyes the wonderful gold mining which was considered by many in San Francisco to be a fable. ◆

*A German measure of 2.07 yards.

ESKIMO CARVING TODAY

BY GEORGE SWINTON

Professor Swinton, artist and teacher at the University of Manitoba school of art, spent some time in the Eastern Arctic last summer

IN the early fall of 1950 I visited Montreal and there, for the first time, I saw a few pieces of Eskimo sculpture. I always had been interested in primitive art (in fact I used to lecture on it) and my surprise at what I saw was consdierable: there was a genuinely primitive art form I knew nothing about, never had heard anything about, and, in addition, it came from our own northland. Nobody could tell me much about it and my curiosity was aroused.

I was fairly familiar with the art of the Alaska Eskimo and I had seen various weapons, tools, utensils, and artifacts of the Eastern Eskimo in natural history museums. The pieces I saw in Montreal were not only different but seemed to have nothing in common with what I had seen before. I tried to find some material on it but was not successful, at least not until the spring of 1952 when I came across an article in *Canadian Art*. It was one of several written by James Houston who, beyond doubt, is the one man most directly responsible for the current phase of Eskimo art, its widespread recognition, and its success. Houston, an artist in his own right, had gone north in the summer of 1948, to Port Harrison and Povungnetuk. There he saw a few small carvings in stone. He recognized their artistic merit and their potential economic value. He wrote:

". . . I returned south with my drawings; but more important I had some splendid carvings in stone, made by the Eskimos.

"The Canadian Handicrafts Guild suggested that I might make a test purchase for them the following summer. The object was to find out whether the Eskimos on the east coast of the Bay could *produce carvings in quantity and of a quality that would be saleable.*†

"Once the Eskimos fully understood that we wanted to trade cartridges, tea and so forth, for all their work, they went at this *new industry*† excitedly. They were paid by means of a system of chits through the facilities of the Hudson's Bay Company, and soon the allotment of money was used up.

"When a sale of the Eskimo work was held that fall in Montreal it was advertised by the Guild to last a week; but to our delight, everything was sold out in three days!

"The Department of Resources and Development became interested in the project, and asked the Guild to extend its search for such material even further north. They stressed the need for work in areas that were depressed because of scarcity of game and offered the Guild a small grant to cover my salary and travelling expenses. . . ."

I quote this passage for it illustrates Houston's connection with Eskimo art and his enthusiasm. The Hudson's Bay Company had tried to introduce Eskimo handicrafts to the markets of the south earlier (during the great depression of the thirties) and even in 1949 they did not sound too optimistic. On January 12 they wrote to the Canadian Handicrafts Guild in answer to the Guild's enquiry: ". . . the carved ivory around Port Harrison is not particularly good, nor particularly plentiful. The soapstone you speak of would, presumably, be little models of stone lamps, and so forth." And again on February 11: "The soapstone models of implements and animals are inclined to be crude because the material is so breakable. The ivory carving is much inferior to that done farther north. . . ."

But Houston was too convincing and in July 1950 he wrote to the Hudson's Bay Company: "The Eskimo Handicrafts from that area [Port Harrison, Povungnetuk, and Cape Smith] are truly remarkable and I was able to purchase over $3,000 worth for the Canadian Handicrafts Guild." Today more than thirty times this amount is brought out annually and carving has become a major source of income for many Eskimos and for entire regions, particularly Povungnetuk and Port Harrison.

* * *

Last summer I visited this area and was able to see for myself and partially satisfy my curiosity about the nature

†Italics are the author's.

Photographs by the author except where credited.

The magnificence of nature. The massive owl is a feathered creature.
Dept. of Northern Affairs

and origin of this new art. For, although I had meanwhile become a collector of Eskimo sculpture, I still had not been able to get as much information about its background as I had wished. All written material I saw was superbly illustrated, with exciting descriptions and anecdotes, but somehow, nothing felt quite convincing in view of the changing art I saw come on the market from year to year. I developed a few theories, or rather projected opinions based on circumstantial evidence, and even today, after my short visit in the North and after I have scanned a good many arctic expedition reports of the past eighty years, I am reluctant to speak definitively about this new art and must admit a considerable amount of speculation, yet I cannot attempt to be as cautious and prudent as Dr. Leechman was with his observations in the Summer 1954 issue of the *Canadian Geographical Journal*. I am stressing this point because there has been published, reprinted, and quoted, a great deal of material, which was entirely misleading and which has established in the minds of even the not-so-gullible public a myth about various aspects of Eskimo carving that bears no resemblance to the facts. This I should like to avoid, for it is my concern to re-evaluate Eskimo carving in stone so that it be understood and appreciated for what it really is, and not for what we wish it to be.

OLD AND NEW PHASES

Let me start by saying that Eskimo art, or rather carving in stone, as we know it today is a new art, or at least a new phase of an age-old *activity*. Yet, it so markedly differs in almost every aspect from previous developments that we are quite safe in calling it a new art.

The old activities were centred around functional and magical uses, *i.e.*, they were utilitarian in their intention, while the modern phase appears to have definite commercial purposes.

The Eskimo had always been a carver—a carver of utilitarian objects. The economy of the Arctic had demanded that. But as far as soapstone was concerned the activity was almost entirely restricted to the making of lamps and kettles, the only utensils that were hardly ever

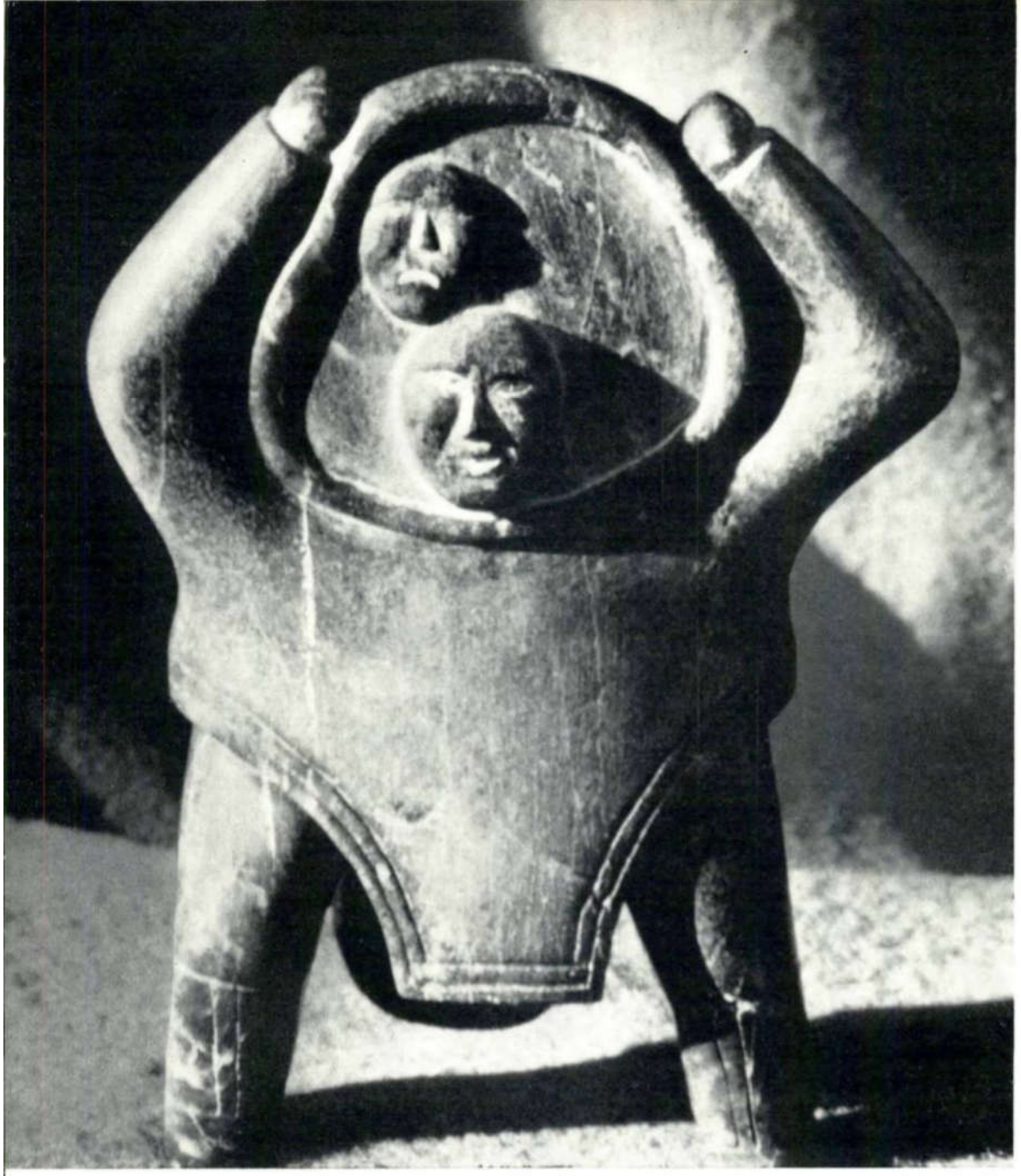
He asserts himself and his race. A genuinely primitive art form.

decorated since the material did not lend itself to decoration. Soapstone was also used for dolls and toys, and probably for replicas of larger objects, in burials. There was, however, another use, which was a true precursor of the current phase: the carving of odd bits and pieces for trading, particularly to sailors, similar to scrimshaw.

In this connection, comments such as John Murdoch's in the *Point Barrow Expedition Report* of the International Polar Expedition of 1881 to 1883, are of considerable interest: ". . . in addition . . . we brought home a series of 79 objects which may be considered as purely works of art without reference to decoration. . . . Some of the older objects in this series perhaps also served as amulets and charms, but a number of the new ones were made simply as works of fancy *for sale to us* . . . 17 pieces of these carvings are made of soapstone, in many cases evidently pieces of an old lamp or kettle. . . ." The largest piece was not longer than $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the smaller ones averaged less than 2 inches.

There is, however, a point which to some extent relates the old to the new, though I have no way of proving it. I have asked many Eskimos how they visualize their carvings, as I had never seen them making "sketches" of any kind. The carvers who were not doing repetitious work said, without exception, that they were seeing an image in the stone which they then proceeded to carve out. This is very nearly the same idea as Michelangelo's "freeing the form from the stone." I imagine that the carvers of old might well have followed the same procedure whenever they produced some freer carvings, such as handles of ivory, charms and amulets, and whatever else there was. In itself this method is the result of the interaction between the artist's knowledge of the material he uses, the objects he creates, and the ideas he wishes to communicate. Obviously such artistic integrity cannot be applied when and where mass production and imitation exist. The Handicrafts Guild and the former Department of Resources and Development must have been very optimistic to have believed it possible to encourage conditions

Sources of Eskimo carving in the Canadian Arctic today.



A comprehensive, universal image of 'Eskimo.'

of *industrial* production on one hand and to maintain *artistic* integrity on the other. This, of course, terminated right then and there any similarity that may have existed between the old art and the new.

As far as other materials such as bone, horn, ivory, or antler were concerned, the Eskimo excelled in rich and meaningful decoration, all designed appropriately to the nature of the material and to the function of the weapon, tool, or utensil being carved, including charms and hunting records. This art aspect might very well have been

The few not carving, mostly children, watched those who were.

another of the traditions of the contemporary phase; inconveniently though, this is not quite true. For this type of work was of inferior quality in the East, as compared to the Western Arctic (and particularly to Alaska), whereas the current phase of carving is almost completely restricted to the Eastern Arctic, apart from a little from Reid Island and Coppermine; most comes from the Belcher Islands, Port Harrison, Povungnetuk, Ivuyivik, Sugluk, Payne Bay, Lake Harbour, Cape Dorset, Repulse Bay, Arctic Bay, Pond Inlet, and Craig Harbour.

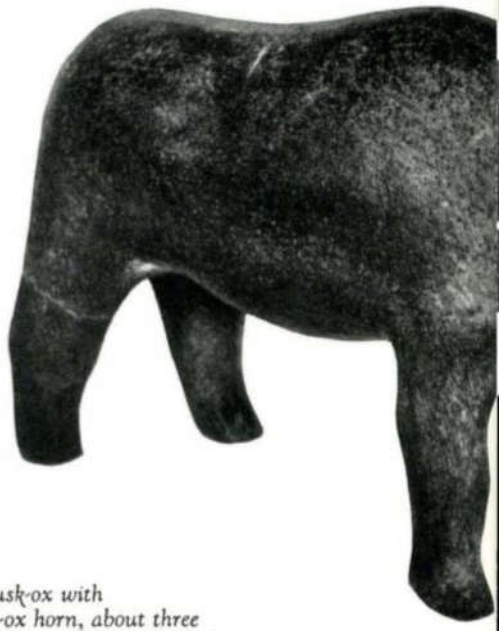
But that is not all. The carving in ivory of the older phase had definite formal traditions, collective styles—generally known and used forms and methods of representation, symbols and signs, that existed over whole areas. The current phase, however, is mostly individualistic, was particularly so when it started, and only now is beginning to show signs of regional style developments which denote incipient deterioration, as evidenced by increasingly repetitious work.

Another significant point which is often overlooked, is the size of the current carvings. Today there are magnificent large carvings, even weighing up to 50 pounds or more, which would never have been produced under the old conditions; for hunters and semi-nomads certainly cannot afford the luxury of excess weight and volume. Older carvings were inevitably very small, generally less than four inches, more often about one inch.

The most important point of the modern phase, though, combines all the points we have made so far and we shall have to refer to it again and again. For as an art, the modern phase of carving is conscious and premeditated, whereas in the previous phases it was unconscious, an unexpected by-product of the Eskimo's intention to make good and effective things. The old art of the hunter was inevitably tied up with life and with function, the new art of the Eskimo artist is consciously tied to a market, subject to the laws of supply and demand, and only vicariously does it relate to his life.

We must clearly recognize that the satisfaction gained from the new phase of carving is, properly speaking, secondary and indirect in nature, as compared with earlier phases where the satisfaction was immediate or primary. We may, then, call this new activity an art, or more directly sculpture—Eskimo sculpture. Certainly, most of the earlier activities could never have been called sculpture even by a very long stretch of the imagination.

Finally, whereas one could say without hesitation that every male Eskimo carved, that is, he could carve when he needed and wanted to carve, it does not follow that every male Eskimo was or is an 'artist' in the modern sense of the word. Carving of utilitarian objects was essential to the struggle for survival, and although decoration was a part of this activity, it related directly to the life of the Eskimos and to the purpose of the objects they used. Today, with their lives in a condition of change, their motives have also changed, and art and function have become divorced. The art of an artist is different from the art of a hunter: not better, not worse, but different.



Soapstone musk-ox with horn of musk-ox horn, about three inches long, given to Dr. L. E. Borden at Cape Fullerton in 1904. This is the only piece illustrated not made in the last few years.
Bill Halkett

The collective aspect of a traditional and generally accepted style has disappeared but the act of the individual in the work of art, has come to the fore. The content is still collective—the ethnic background, the daily life, the every-day world—but in this new activity the individual's ability to transform experience into art, to give artistic form to the idea and thus to achieve an object that has unique value of form and content, is the entirely new and different objective.

As yet the Eskimo is not aware of all this. But we are. When the new activity started it ran on its own vitality, on its sheer unharnessed power of uninhibited expression. Thus almost anything and everything went right. But now, with the object of producing "carvings in quantity and of quality that would be saleable," the lack of primary function and motivation begins to make itself felt. The new carving depends more and more on the vision of the artist and, in this sense, on his uniqueness. The traditionally anonymous carvers from the North have disappeared.

The traditional struggle for existence: hunter returning with seal.
Peter Murdoch

The daily life translated into stone: throwing a harpoon with sea-anchor and float attached.

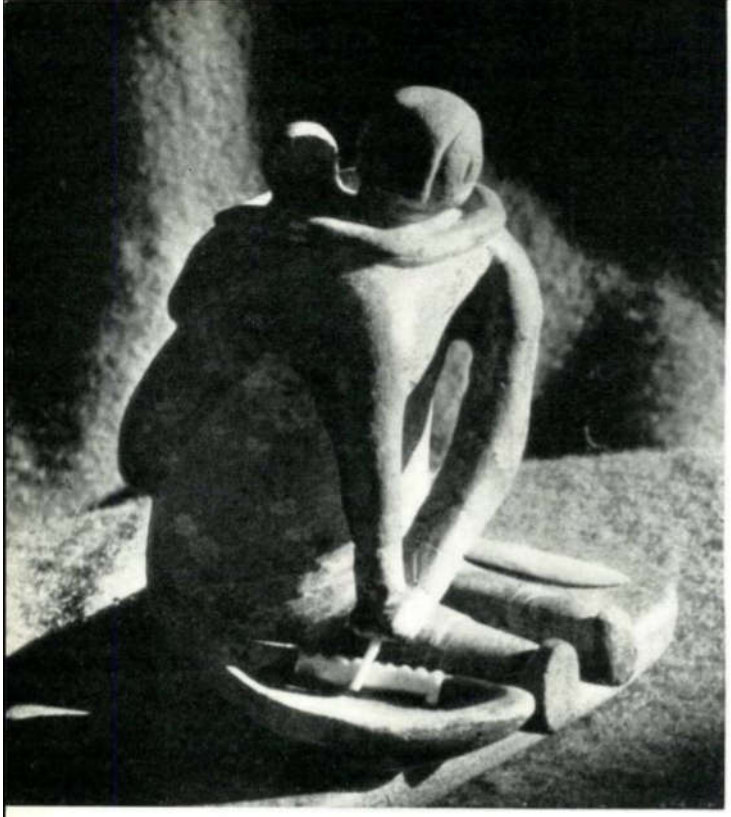
PRIMITIVE OR NOT?

The earlier art of the Eskimo was always primitive. Henry Moore most aptly defined this art for us when he wrote: "Primitive art makes a straight-forward statement; its primary concern is with the elemental, and its simplicity comes from direct and strong feeling. The most striking quality to all primitive art is its intense vitality. It is made by people with a direct and immediate response to life and its mystery."

In the beginning, the recent phase of Eskimo carving certainly was a primitive art. Today we can no longer make such unequivocal statements. Particularly in view of White influence and the new nature of Eskimo carving.

We have already observed that under these conditions Eskimo carving has developed into an individualistic art. I should have said, perhaps, *good* Eskimo carving, for now there definitely enters this quality distinction which existed only to a minor extent in the earlier phases. To explain this I must digress for a moment into the general nature of art.

The definitions of art are many, yet none is ever complete. I will not attempt to add mine. The definitions deal with various emphases on form, on content, on communication; they deal with standards of excellence and with emotive powers, with the criteria of judgment, and with



Mother tending lamp with child on her back. An individual style from Sugluk.

the vagaries of taste. Ultimately—although we have come to accept changes of concept as to what is art and what is not—there seems to emerge inevitably some definite general agreement about objective qualities. Within these terms the primitive arts occupy a very special place. For here the skills and the traditions of craftsmanship have a lesser meaning than emotive powers and vitality. Not that emotive powers and vitality are neglected in the non-primitive arts, but there the excellence of the technical traditions and the achievements of the past are more important as criteria of judgment than with the arts which we call primitive.

And in this sense primitive arts are more apt to be right, to be good, to be art. The primitive artist (like the child) is expressive in spite of himself. His art, which is a part of his life, becomes art in spite of itself, whereas with production that is aimed at art, it may never—in spite of the intention—become art at all.

Here then lies the danger, but also the glory, of the new art. And we may therefore—in fact we must—make distinctions in the new phase of Eskimo carving.

As far as the more primitive work is concerned there is more good than bad, for reasons just explained. Very often I hear from people who have lived in the North (or from those who do not like primitive art) that it is just crude or the result of the carver's inability to do better or finer work or that the work is appealing through its quaintness rather than through its qualities.

Relative to their standards these people are right; but are their standards right? Let me put it this way: judged by baroque portrait sculpture the best of the Congo masks will look uncivilized, oversimplified, and grotesque; but compared to the standards of Congo masks, baroque portraits will look degenerate, tricky, and pretentious. Yet both, in their own way, are the best there is; furthermore, some will like only the one, some will like only the other, some will like none, and a few will like both. But liking, or value judgment, is only of little use when evaluating art, though it certainly is valid as a guide to personal collecting and uninhibited appreciation. Now, if we can accept the standards of baroque portraits and Congo masks to be equally valid in their own way, we should be able to accept the fact that primitive Eskimo art has its own standards too. We must judge it, therefore, not in accordance with what we think is good and with what we think we like, but on its own inherent merits.

Moreover, it is never what the artist *intends* that makes his creation a work of art, but what he does. I suggest that the uninhibited, naive, and childlike mind and attitude of the primitive artist make it possible that his creations become works of art more often than not. I find it impossible to call the work of artists like Koperqualook, Shamasha, and Charlie Seeguapik, primitive *because* they are Eskimos. They do not produce "primitive art" but simply sculpture. Therefore these new standards are no longer primitive; and more often than not, the art that must be judged by these standards is not as good as the more primitive work, or not art at all. Let me illustrate.

With the more recent developments in Eskimo sculpture new considerations of technical perfection and of communication of ideas make themselves felt. No longer can the

Legendary story of the man and the bear takes form in carved slate.

The Eskimo carver adapts white man's tools, rasps and files, to his purpose.

Eskimo express himself without inhibitions, for he has created for himself an artistic consciousness which hampers his flow of unpremeditated art. In order that it may be art, he must not only think as an Eskimo but also as an artist. Such aspects as unnecessary detail, finicky and complex treatment, overprecious and unsculptural form, sacrifice of sculptural feeling for the sake of accuracy of representation (the famous "truth" in art!), lack of sensitivity, lack of expressiveness, and so on, all become important because they have become conscious. With this, we have started to distinguish between the artist, the craftsman, and the imitator.

No longer can we talk of Eskimo art when we see Eskimo sculpture, for some has become handicraft—skilful and "charming" as it may be—and some of the inferior pieces are just Eskimo souvenirs. If *we* do not make these classifications time will do it anyhow.

MEANING IN ESKIMO SCULPTURE

Yet we must also consider that the old phase and the new are each symbolic of the two different conditions of the respective cultures: the utilitarian art with its traditional form reflects the strong cohesiveness of the old Eskimo society, whereas the new individualistic and non-utilitarian art reflects a break-up of culture and civilization and the struggle of the individual Eskimo to assert himself.

And it is precisely in that last sense that Eskimo art achieves its new (and perhaps greatest) triumph. For we must come to recognize that without the influence of the White Man, without his demand for the very thing that only the Eskimo could produce, Eskimo art of the new phase would never have come into existence. It is the real miracle that this art arose out of adverse conditions, out of the very destruction of a culture, and not out of the traditional development of old. In a most significant sense this birth of the new art is the *one* way to respond to the challenges which confront the Eskimo's accustomed way of life. The one symbolic way to assert himself, and his ethnic consciousness, in face of his cultural annihilation, is to produce an art that is all Eskimo art.

An art that can affirm this, is truly great. It means not only the creation of a new art form but also a lasting monument to a race. For this new art will perpetuate the race through a tangible transformation of spirit into form, establishing for us, and for generations to come, a comprehensive universal image of 'Eskimo.' By this new art we shall know the Eskimo even if he ceases to exist. In this sense, *now* is the precise moment for the creation of such symbolic art. But naturally, fewer and fewer pieces will qualify for such high standards. How long it will last is difficult to say. For the creative fire of the Eskimo will burn itself out, confronted by unsurmountable attacks on his culture. His ethnic existence is threatened by his continuous contact with our way of life, our technological and economic seductiveness, which lead him from naiveté, from his prehistoric childlikeness, into an adolescent stage of civilization.

But *through* his art, and *in* his art, of the new phase, the Eskimo rediscovers his ethnic and his human self. He asserts himself, his origin, and his race.

Personally and psychologically he represents his daydreams and the objects of his fancy; ethnically he relates the myths, and legends, and the customs of his life; racially he creates what only he can do, but which the White Man desires and rewards. Through this the carvings have achieved a new meaning, a new function, and a new use. They are the Eskimo's new magic, designed to establish equality, if not superiority, in a field in which the White Man cannot compete. It does not matter whether or not the Eskimo is conscious of this function, and in fact of his creative process in general; what matters is that it is a *real* motivation for his art.

The worst we can possibly do is to interfere in this development by suggesting to him a return to a way and tradition that no longer refers to his way of life. We know that the new art will disappear when the Eskimo has succumbed to our civilization, when he no longer is an Eskimo. We cannot expect his art to flourish when his civilization no longer exists. I suspect that with the death of this generation Eskimo carving of the new phase will have died too.

The glory of having created this truly great art redeems the agony that inevitably accompanied the creative process. In this sense all art resembles salvation—the road to continuous existence. ◆

BY MADGE WOLFENDEN

Miss Wolfenden was for many years assistant archivist for British Columbia.

Sappers and Miners

BULWER is a good sounding name for a Mountain; Lytton wd. be appropriate to a River," enthusiastically wrote the commanding officer of the Royal Engineers, shortly after his arrival in British Columbia. Nevertheless, his suggestions were not adopted; instead, a little hamlet situated where the blue waters of the Thompson River mingle with the silty grey Fraser, received the honour of perpetuating the name of Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton (afterwards Lord Lytton) who was, at that time, the far-seeing Secretary of State for the Colonies. Richard Clement Moody, Colonel of Royal Engineers, had been chosen by Lytton to begin the task of colonization.

It is indeed fitting that British Columbians should look upon the author of *The Last Days of Pompeii* as the guardian of the first days of British Columbia, for it was at his recommendation that "Her Majesty [Queen Victoria] was graciously pleased to add [it] to her colonial possessions."

A backward glance is necessary in order that the sudden happenings of the year 1858 may be placed in their right perspective, and the urgency of the situation understood. Although by the Oregon Treaty of 1846 Great Britain and the United States of America had agreed upon the 49th parallel of north latitude as the dividing line between the two nations, no steps had been taken to mark this boundary. When gold began to be discovered on the bars of the Fraser River, the Hudson's Bay Company was still exer-

A specially picked company of Royal Engineers, all volunteers and representing many trades and professions, played a big part in the affairs of the infant colony of British Columbia.

cising its privileges of exclusive trade in that untamed and vast wilderness known as "New Caledonia."

Between the end of April 1858, and the inauguration of the colony of British Columbia, on November 19, thousands of adventurers directed their footsteps to the "Promised Land" while James Douglas and Sir Edward Lytton carried on an almost frenzied correspondence between Victoria and faraway London. From these voluminous despatches it is possible to visualize the complex problems which faced the Governor of the nine-year-old colony of Vancouver's Island (whose capital, Victoria, was the only port of entry by ship or steamer) adjacent to the extensive domains so attractive and so alluring on account of their new found gold.

Captain Henry Reynolds Luard who was in charge of the main body of the Royal Engineers that sailed in the "Thames City" 1858-9.

Colonel Richard Clement Moody, commanding officer of the Columbia Detachment of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, 1858-63.

All photos from B.C. Archives

Lieutenant Henry Spencer Palmer served under Captain Parsons in the Survey Department.

James Douglas, who was also Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains, was authorized by Sir Edward Lytton under the necessity of the case "to perform the duties of Governor of the unorganised Territory, pending the passage of the organic Act, and his own formal and legal appointment as Governor."* Concurrently with Douglas's request for a military force as a protection against the "wild and adventurous spirits" who were arriving almost daily, Sir Edward revealed his own plans for sending a company of Royal Engineers to the new colony.

Sir Edward's decision to send the Sappers and Miners, instead of an ordinary regiment of the line, shows both his perception of the great amount of work to be done and his confidence in the aptitude and skill of that particular branch of Her Majesty's troops. In writing to Douglas he outlines his reasons for the choice by saying:

"The superior discipline and intelligence of this force, which can afford ground for expecting that they will be far less likely than ordinary soldiers . . . to yield to the temptation to desertion offered by the goldfields, and their capacity . . . to provide for themselves in a country without habitation, appear to me to render them especially suited for this duty."

He concludes by expressing the belief that they will "establish themselves in the popular good-will of the emigrants by the civil benefits it will be the regular nature of their occupation to confer."

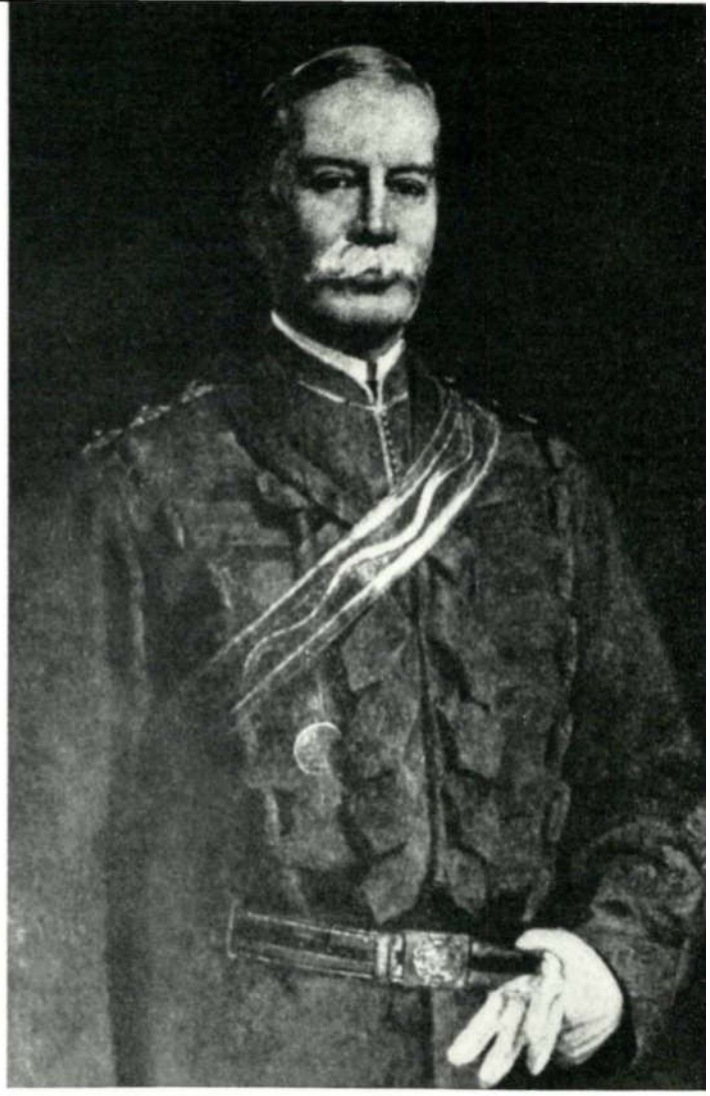
Writing to Moody a few days later, he stresses the point of discipline and good-conduct, and lays emphasis upon the "civil nature of their duties." He had already explained to Douglas that the "force is sent for scientific and practical purposes, and not solely for military objects."

Amongst the varied instructions which Colonel Moody received were: "To give immediate attention to the improvement of the means of communication by land and water; To report upon unification of British interests on the Pacific; To report upon the harbours of the Colony and upon the existence of all minerals, especially coal and on the fisheries, timber, soil and agricultural prospects." In addition the commanding officer of the Royal Engineers was "To send full reports upon the permanent settlement, as the Home Authorities wish to introduce responsible government as soon as conditions permit."

It was no mean task which confronted Colonel Moody and his subordinate officers, and on this account and because service abroad of necessity implies hardship and long-term absence from home, volunteers were called for in order to make up the corps.

In commenting on the formation of the Columbia Detachment, as it came to be known, the *Times*, of London, on September 13, had this to say:

*F. W. Howay, *The Work of the Royal Engineers.*



Captain John Marshall Grant, second in command of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia. From a photograph of an oil painting by his daughter, who was born at the R.E. camp.

"None but the most robust and skilful men among the Royal Engineers have been allowed to volunteer for this service, as the work they will be called upon to perform will be not only attended with some degree of hardship, but will also require a great amount of skill. With this view they have been chosen from the various trades and handicrafts of which the corps of Royal Engineers is made up."

A few days later, the *Times* had more to say, reporting on the departure of the Royal Engineers for British Columbia, and gave details as to the stores and supplies which were being sent in the barque *Briseis*. The list is quite an astonishing one for it includes an electric telegraph apparatus and wires, a printing-press and photograph apparatus, as well as "portable boats," and "an immense assortment of mining tools, and . . . tools for carpenters, smiths, bricklayers, &c."

By a stroke of misfortune the *Briseis* was burned at sea, which accounts for the fact that another supply ship, the

Euphrates, sailed the following January with a substitute cargo of supplies and provisions.

The corps was made up of Colonel R. C. Moody, Captains J. M. Grant, R. M. Parsons and H. R. Luard; Lieutenants A. R. Lempriere and H. S. Palmer; and Assistant-Surgeon J. V. Seddall. The rank and file consisted of 150 non-commissioned officers and men, about 30 of whom were married, and who were allowed to bring their wives and families. Included in the overall numbers were two Royal Artillerymen and two Hussars, present for the purpose of forming the nucleus of an artillery or a cavalry corps should the necessity arise.

In order to expedite preparations and to save time, Captain Parsons and twenty men, chiefly surveyors, and Captain Grant with twelve, who were mainly carpenters, preceded the main group, travelling by way of the isthmus of Panama in two separate parties. Colonel Moody and his family, who also travelled by the same route, formed a third party, and were accompanied by Captain W. D. Gosset, to whose lot it fell to establish and superintend an assay office and colonial mint.

The main body sailed by way of Cape Horn in the clipper ship *Thames City* which had been chartered for the purpose. Thus by the time that the official inauguration and proclamation of the Colony of British Columbia was effected on the 19th of November, Captain Parsons and his party, and Captain Grant and his party, were already on the scene, and the Commanding Officer and the main group were on the high seas *en route* to join them. Colonel Moody and family reached Victoria on Christmas Day, and the *Thames City* dropped anchor at Vancouver Island on April 12, 1859.

The first object to claim the attention of Colonel Moody upon taking up his duties in the colony, was the founding of a capital city. Governor Douglas had chosen the site of old Fort Langley for this purpose, and had already caused a townsite to be laid out there which he renamed Derby. Captain Grant at once condemned Derby as being unsuitable for military as well as for commercial purposes by being, amongst other factors, on the wrong bank of the river. He reported his adverse findings with which Colonel Moody was quick to concur. Instead, the present site of New Westminster, on higher ground, and farther from the international boundary, was deemed desirable from every point of view.

Moody, as a loyal soldier of the Queen, wished to commemorate Her Majesty in some special way, and so chose "Queenborough" as being an appropriate name for the capital. For some months he and Douglas, who insisted on "Queensborough," spoke of the capital each in his own way, until the matter was referred to Queen Victoria herself, who settled the question by naming it "New Westminster."

It is neither possible nor desirable in the space of this short article to endeavour to give in detail the innumerable tasks and achievements accomplished by the Sappers and Miners during their five years' sojourn in British Columbia. The late Judge F. W. Howay has already done this in his admirable *The Work of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, 1858 to 1863*. The Judge's own summary provides an excellent resumé and this paragraph from his book is well worth quoting:

"Taking stock of the work of the Engineers up to the end of 1863, we find that all the important explorations in the colony were performed by them; the whole peninsula between Burrard Inlet and Fraser River was surveyed by them; all the surveys of towns and country lands were made by them; all the main roads were laid out by them; some of these, including portions of the Cariboo Road, the Hope-Similkameen Road,

Sapperton, as the camp of the Royal Engineers was generally known, with Col. Moody's house on the extreme left. The Provincial Penitentiary at New Westminster now occupies the camp site.

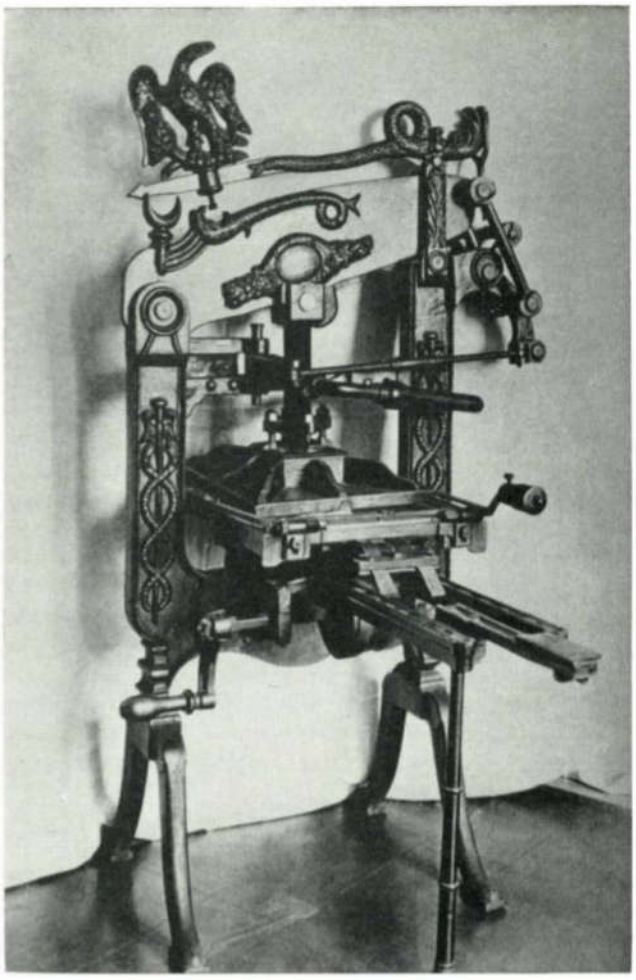
the Douglas-Lillooet Road, and the North Road to Burrard Inlet, were built by them; practically all the maps of the colony and of sections of it were made from their surveys, prepared in their drafting office, lithographed and published by them at their camp; they formed, in 1862, the first building society in the colony; they designed the first churches (Holy Trinity Church and St. Mary's Church, New Westminster) and the first school-house in the colony; they designed the first coat-of-arms and the first postage-stamp in the colony; they established the first observatory, and to them we owe the first systematic meteorological observations in the colony, covering a period of three years; they formed the Lands and Works Department, the Government Printing Office, and printed the first British Columbia Gazette; they aided in the maintenance of law and order; and their commanding officer was the first Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, as well as the first Lieutenant-Governor." (He held a dormant commission as such.)

Vancouver residents owe a debt of gratitude to Colonel Moody for it was at his instigation that the large tract of forest now known as "Stanley Park" was reserved when the first surveys on Burrard Inlet were made by the Engineers under his command.

Passing reference must be made to another body of Royal Engineers who were also in British Columbia during most of this same period, namely, the officers and men under the command of Captain J. S. Hawkins, who comprised the North American Boundary Commission, and who were engaged in defining and marking the line of the 49th parallel of latitude ("Boundary Journal," *Beaver*, Winter 1955).

Not only did the Engineers contribute to the material welfare of British Columbia in a very practical way, but they also supplied intellectual and cultural stimulus, generally so lacking in new settlements. For instance, a library of some 2,000 volumes was purchased in England by the men of the corps, and personally selected by Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton. Upon their departure from British Columbia in the autumn of 1863, this "small but complete library" was transferred to the Mechanics' Institute of New Westminster, and so formed the foundation upon which a public library was gradually built. Morley Roberts who, some twenty years later whilst engaged in railway work, enjoyed these books, makes special mention of them in his *Western Avernus*.

Her Majesty's soldiers and sailors, throughout the Commonwealth, have always been known to enjoy amateur theatricals, and the Royal Engineers were no exception. While on their way to British Columbia in the *Thames City*, they formed a small theatrical group, which was quite active on board ship when weather and opportunity were favourable. Upon reaching New Westminster they continued to produce plays for themselves and the settlers,



The printing press first used in 1860 by Corporal Richard Wolfenden, R.E. On it were printed reports of surveys and the B.C. Government Gazette.

and even built a small theatre at their camp, where entertainments were held regularly.

Colonel Moody maintained his sincere and genuine interest in the development of British Columbia for many years after departing from New Westminster, as is evident in his letters to the late Sir Henry Crease (who was Attorney-General for British Columbia in the 1860s). He had faith in its future and at the time of his death in 1887, the *Times* remarked "his name will ever be associated with the fortunes of our rising dependency in the Western Pacific." It is appropriate, therefore, that at least one place-name in our province, Port Moody at the head of Burrard Inlet, should commemorate this conscientious, congenial, and cultured soldier.

Owing to differences of opinion between Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody as to policy, and because the monetary resources of the colony were insufficient to finance the expenses of the corps (as had previously been agreed upon by the Colonial Office and Douglas) the Governor

brought pressure to bear upon the home government early in 1863, with the result that orders for the withdrawal of the Royal Engineers were given, and preparations were made for their disbandment in the ensuing autumn. The original period of service was to have been six years, and at Imperial cost for a limited time only.

In reference to this Judge Howay has commented:

"Whether the policy pursued by Governor Douglas enabled the colony to obtain the full fruits to be expected from the presence of such a body of trained men during its toddling days may well be doubted; and it may be questioned as a consequence whether the full measure of success hoped for by Sir E[dward] B[ulwer] Lytton was attained."

Nevertheless, it is generally conceded that throughout their service the men had borne themselves according to the best traditions of the British Army, and had acquitted themselves in all they did, whether at work or at play, with a deportment that merited nothing but the highest praise.

When the time came to break up the Columbia Detachment, the officers and their families, and about 25 or 30 of the sappers, returned to England, while the remainder, to each of whom had been granted the usual 150 acres of land, engaged in civilian occupations, thus forming a unit of hard-working and eminently desirable settlers for the colony.

It has been said of their commanding officer that "he earned the good-will of the colonists and the approbation of the authorities at home." He, himself, said at the farewell dinner tendered to the officers of the corps upon the eve of their departure; "We have simply striven our best to do our duty. That is what a soldier has always before him. It is his highest ambition to do his duty well." In referring to his service in British Columbia he continued: "It was an experiment . . . a novelty, mingling thus military and civil duties. How far it has met what was sought for by the Government is not for me to say." He passed lightly over "the peculiar trials, difficulties, and embarassments" when referring to his term of office, and parted from the remainder of his corps and the settlers with feelings of sincere respect, friendship and admiration, which were expressed on all sides.

In retrospect, a century after the stirring events which took place in the new colony, in which the Sappers and Miners were privileged to participate, it is revealing to read Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton's address to his constituents at Hitchin (Hertfordshire, England) as reported in the *Times* of September 28, 1861:

". . . we have been laying the foundations of a new and mighty colony . . . I speak of the colony it was my duty to advise my sovereign to found . . . I mean British Columbia. That colony, with its neighbour Vancouver [Island] . . . gives to England her only possession on the Pacific Ocean. But that possession is the key to the Pacific, and had I still been in office . . . I venture to think, one line of British settlements would have sprung up to connect the Pacific with the Atlantic."

Further on, in the same address, Lytton referred to the future status of British Columbia as being destined to be the "wealthiest of all that now speak our language." He concluded by alluding to the part which he had played in bringing about the colonization as "that act in my own special administration of which I am most proud."

Were he alive today, he would indeed be gratified to observe the verification of his sanguine and far-sighted hopes for Canada's most western province, verily a monument to his perspicacity.

"Ubique Quo Fas et Gloria Ducunt." ◆

The "Emigrant Soldier's Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle" for 6 November 1858. Edited by 2nd Corporal Charles Sinnett, and Lieut. H. S. Palmer, it was published weekly during the long voyage from England.

THE

EMIGRANT SOLDIER'S GAZETTE,

AND

Cape Horn Chronicle.

SATURDAY 6TH NOVEMBER 1858. NUMBER 1

MOTTOES:

"THAMES CITY."

BIRTHS

TO THE EDITOR.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE VOYAGE.

NAVAL & MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE PACKET

C. P. Wilson

With the last issue, the hand that has guided the *Beaver* for the past eighteen years was withdrawn. To some readers Clifford Wilson was just a name that appeared somewhere as Editor, but a name that assured the high standard of the magazine; to others he was a voice on the radio, author, television personality, knowledgeable source of information on historical matters.

Before he became its editor, Clifford Wilson had contributed articles to the *Beaver*, and in 1937 he reorganized the Company museum in Winnipeg, later to become its director in addition to his work as editor and historian for the Company in Canada. His life-long interest in history may have stemmed from boyhood days, playing among ruins of ancient buildings in Repton, Derbyshire, but he developed it after coming to Canada and graduating from McGill.

Mr. Wilson leaves the Hudson's Bay Company to go to the Glenbow Foundation as director of Western Canadiana. He will be missed by many, but his record stands in the volumes of the *Beaver* and its reputation.

North West Passage

What with naval vessels making surveys across the North and last year charting a deep draft passage through Bellot Strait, the North West Passage has been getting nearly as much publicity as it did a hundred years ago.

In the course of their business, little ships have used the route across the top of the continent and have met from east and west. These craft worked in the Arctic, establishing Canadian sovereignty or taking care of posts and the people who manned them, and it was no part of their job to set up historical records. Such were the small government ships, *Neptune* and *Arctic*; such were the H B C ships, *Fort James* and *Fort Macpherson*, and the *Aklavik* and *Nascopie*, which closed the link between east and west. We believe the *Aklavik* was the first ship through Bellot Strait, though Lieuts. Kennedy and Bellot sledged through in 1851-2. Such, too, was the *St. Roch*, the sturdy little R.C.M.P. vessel which with her mobile detachment of policemen-sailors, under the skilful command of Sgt. (now Supt.) H. A. Larsen, achieved fame by completing the first eastbound voyage through the Passage in 1940-2, and crowning this achievement by making the return trip in 1944 in one season.

The plans for the Centennial Maritime Museum in Vancouver include the preservation of the *St. Roch* which was locally built for R.C.M.P. arctic work. ◆

Continued from page 35

These, however, are perhaps minor criticisms, and Mr. Davies' introduction is, in fact, excellent. It is clear and covers a wide range of topics. These were hard years for the Company. They had lost their fort at Albany to a French attack perpetrated in time of peace; they were hindered from counter-attack by a truce due to expire on 1 January 1689. But before that date their intended counter-attack was frustrated by the innocence of its commander, John Marsh. He supposed that he could safely go hunting, in bland reliance on the French honouring their word. They did not honour it; they trapped Marsh, and later captured his ships and men as well as himself. It was left to James Knight to recapture Albany four years later; and it was happy that he did so. For in 1694 d'Iberville captured York; the Company recaptured it in 1696, only to lose it to d'Iberville once more in 1697. From that date till 1713, Albany was the only post the Company held on the Bay from which it took its name. Mr. Davies comments on these skirmishes by the Bayside that victory went to the side best supplied with men and artillery from Europe.

But there was war in Europe too from 1688 to 1697, and England was in special danger from the Royal Navy's defeat at Beachy Head on 30 June 1690 till its shattering victory at La Hogue in May 1692. The stress of war bore heavily on the Company. Its ships were exposed to capture by French privateers, and men were hard to recruit, as was always the case during hostilities. Foiled of securing Englishmen, the Company sought Scots, with one Hugh Verner as their recruiting agent in North Britain, in 1691; and they again sought Scotsmen in 1693. But they do not at this date seem to have engaged men from their best future recruiting grounds, the Orkneys, though in wartime the "north-about" route was the safest way to the Bay.

With all these difficulties and expenses, the Company's one great commodity, beaver, was earning less than ever; likewise, the Company had lost its former royal protection and its enemies at home were attacking it in Parliament. Mr. Davies leads us ably through the jungle of seventeenth century company law, with precedents and comparisons from the history of the Royal African and East India Companies. He traces the fall and the rise of beaver in the international market and shows the importance of Russia as an outlet for fur the Company had brought from America. He concludes that, in spite of the difficulties of this period "the Company survived. The history of other trading corporations and the nature of French aggressions in the Bay and at sea suggest that even survival was an achievement from which some satisfaction could be drawn." ◆

NORTHERN BOOKS

MANITOBA: A HISTORY, by W. L. Morton. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1957. 519 pages. $5.95.

Reviewed by George F. G. Stanley

ONE of the most remarkable features of Canadian historical literature is the absence of a collection of good provincial histories. Shortly after the last war Professor George Brown of Toronto contemplated the publication of such a series by the University Press. The authors were selected, but the project was never carried to fruition. The success of the great historical sets of an earlier era like *Canada and its Provinces* and *The Makers of Canada*, was not, apparently, to be repeated. The unfortunate result is that today few Canadian provinces, if any, possess satisfactory, up-to-date historical records of their origin, growth and role in the Canadian federation. Not that there are no provincial histories; just that there are all too few good ones.

Manitoba has not been without its earlier historians. The names of Ross, Hargrave, Begg, Bryce, Schofield, and McBeth spring immediately to mind. But the quality and value of their work varied considerably. Some wrote of what they themselves knew first or second hand; others of what they could find in books, diaries, or documents. None of them, however, is wholly satisfactory; and none of them approaches in breadth and scholarship the present work of W. L. Morton. Professor Morton is a native son —only a native son could have produced so sympathetic and so convincing a book. Educated at the University of Manitoba, he spent several years at Oxford as a Rhodes scholar, returning to the land of his birth as a teacher at his old university. Almost every page of his book breathes affection for his native heath.

And yet his book is not narrowly conceived or executed. Starting with Button's landfall on Hudson Bay in 1612, the author carries us through the turmoil of the fur trade, the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company territories to Canada, the Riel risings, the post-confederation growth, the school controversy, the boom days, the social and political crisis of the post-war period, the depression, the development of Manitoba within the Canadian nation, right up to the appointment of a native son, Dr. Saunderson, as president of the university at Winnipeg. Not all of this is narrative. Nor is it all just politics. Economic, social and cultural developments are interwoven.

What comments a critic may make about this book must, of necessity, be limited to differences of opinion with regard to emphasis. No two individuals will be interested in the same thing; and manifestly everything cannot be included in a single volume. There are, however, some things about the book which disappointed this reviewer. One was the comparatively short shrift given to the political history of the formative years between Riel and Greenway. This period was one of political experimentation; it was also one replete with interesting personalities, with men like Donald A. Smith, Joseph Dubuc, Angus McKay, Joseph Royal and John Norquay. Generally speaking, the author is not at his happiest when describing personalities. The gustiness of Martin, the mediocrity of Greenway, the physical burliness and soft eloquence of Norquay are mentioned; but they do not emerge as the qualities of living men. Too frequently the human being is lost in the pedantry of politics or economics. Could greater contrasts be found anywhere than that between the acidulous Meighen (who does not even make the index) and the boisterous Rogers with his bushy locks cut in imitation of Laurier (or was it Macdonald?). This is not to suggest that history is indistinguishable from romance—Manitoban historiography has passed through that phase—but rather to hint that there is a bit too much academic reserve in Professor Morton's account to give his story the zest and fluidity it deserves.

There will also be those who may wonder what happened to the métis after 1870. Others will feel that the story of French survival in the face of hostile school and language legislation has been neglected. There is little reference to ecclesiastical history; and little, too, to military. Although there are available interesting accounts of Winnipeg as the militiamen of 1885 saw it.

One thing Professor Morton did not omit to mention. That was Manitoba's literary and cultural contribution to Canadian life. D. G. Creighton established this pattern in his *Dominion of the North*, and it is one which the author did well to follow. In this connection, however, I wonder at the omission of any word about A. R. M. Lower. Philip Grove was, incidentally, not Norwegian-born; he was born in a Russian manor house of Scottish-Swedish parents. Mr. Morton's reaction to Constantin-Weyer seems just a little naive. What matters is not what Constantin-Weyer wrote, but how he wrote it. And surely there might have been at least a passing reference to Lemoine FitzGerald.

These comments are, it must be emphasized, mere differences of opinion. They in no way diminish the value of Professor Morton's book nor the high esteem in which this reviewer holds its author. There is no other provincial

Professor Stanley is head of the department of history at Royal Military College, Kingston, and author of books and articles.

history of the same stature. And in this work Mr. Morton has established a standard for histories of this kind which will be a challenge to those scholars not too timorous to enter the provincial field.

THE NORTH WEST COMPANY, by Marjorie Wilkins Campbell. The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1957. Pp. xiv; 295. $5.00.

Reviewed by Julia Jarvis

MRS. Campbell, after her very successful little book *The Nor' Westers*, has set herself the task of writing a full-scale and authoritative book which will make the fur-trade of Canada interesting; and she has brilliantly succeeded. She has tackled this formidable phase of economic history with vigour and imagination, and with a very clear and sensible plan of action. She has divided her book into "Part I: Simon McTavish" and "Part II: William McGillivray"; and round these two men, uncle and nephew, who between them dominated the North West Company for over forty years, she has written an uncluttered narrative. Undaunted by the fact that her story ranges from Labrador to the Pacific, covers half a century of exploration and Big Business, and includes dozens of characters, the author has risen above her knowledge of a thousand details and by-paths to see the wide view with a clear eye. She says that "great simplification has been necessary," and that she has omitted many phases of the fur-trade that would warrant books in themselves; but she has omitted nothing of significance to the history of the North West Company within the limits she has deliberately set.

The book begins with a helpful list, in the manner of a detective novel, of the "Principal people in the book," and the close relationships between these may be astonishing. There is a vivid prologue describing Montreal in the days of the fur-trade, which leads up to the entrance of Simon McTavish. Then follows the life of this colourful figure—"The Marquis" or "Le Premier"—who ruled a continent and died at fifty-four the wealthiest man in Montreal. His era includes the great expansion to the west and the exploits of Sir Alexander Mackenzie; and the story is told of his quarrel with this quick-tempered and unpredictable explorer. Then his mantle falls on his nephew, William McGillivray, whose rule was disrupted and finally destroyed by the effects on the North West Company of the War of 1812 and of Lord Selkirk's settlement at Red River. The Book finishes with an epilogue on "the classical tragedy" of the North West Company's end and the absorption of many Nor'Westers into the Hudson's Bay Company, which, newly strengthened, went on to greater achievements. There are three good maps of the cross-continent canoe routes, and four portraits. The end-papers reproduce the "Principal Trading Stations of the North West Company" printed in 1817 "By Permission of Simon McTavish, Esqre." There is a chapter on authorities, and a full index.

As well as using profitably both old and new sources of information on her subject, Mrs. Campbell has visited most of the actual sites of the North West Company's posts, from the Saguenay to the Peace River and in Oregon. This enthusiastic and indefatigable approach is reflected in her book. It is full of colour, as well as of fact; full of warmth for the people involved, as well as of events. Mrs. Campbell writes easily and well, and uses her quotations—particularly those from letters—very effectively. She has captured the "North West Spirit," and works carefully to clear her heroes of the reputation of "cut-throats and bullies" so often ascribed to them. Her sympathy for their trials and frustrations and final catastrophy is apparent, but justified.

Mrs. Campbell acknowledges the source of her inspiration to be the thirty-six page Introduction by W. Stewart Wallace in his *Documents relating to the North West Company* (The Champlain Society, 1934), which she says was to her "both a blue-print and the soaring steel of a magnificent sky-scraper." Mrs. Campbell has herself proved to be no mean builder.

Miss Jarvis is technical editor and executive secretary-treasurer of The Champlain Society.

MEN AGAINST THE FROZEN NORTH, by Ritchie Calder. Thos. Nelson & Sons, Toronto, 1957. 279 pages. $3.50.

Reviewed by J. Keith Fraser

PERSONS acquainted with northern literature will receive the impression that they have read this book before, and perhaps the clarity of the descriptions of settlements and personalities strenthens this feeling. The author has interspersed his impressions of a visit, or a series of "sweeps," to northern and northwestern Canada between March and June (1955) with succinct, readable summaries of the development of northern exploration and settlement, engineering and habitation problems, and scientific research. In this brief period, Mr. Calder visited Cambridge Bay, Churchill, weather stations in the High Arctic and settlements in northern Saskatchewan and the Mackenzie valley. Among the many recent northern books, the broad scope of *Men Against the Frozen North* stands in strong contrast to localized accounts such as Katherine Sherman's *Spring on an Arctic Island* or Peter Scott's *Wild Geese and Eskimos*. Both approaches are

Mr. Fraser, of the Northern Canada Research Section of the Geographical Branch, has travelled in the north.

useful, but detailed studies are today perhaps more valuable than the travelogue variety.

One of the hazards of using the information obtained from discussions with persons of and in the north is the difficulty of assessing the veracity and dependability of this information. Mr. Calder's wide experience elsewhere has apparently given him a perspicacity too seldom found in books of this sort. However, there are some omissions which have resulted in an unequal treatment of the Canadian Arctic. Mr. Calder did not visit the Eastern Arctic, but in his conclusions he should have considered the expanding base at Frobisher, the government plans for the Eskimos there, the realization of mining possibilities in the examples of Rankin Inlet, Knob Lake and Payne Bay. Nor did the author see the north in the spring and summer, and although in so doing he avoided the mosquitoes, he missed the hurried blooming of the flowers and the noisy arrival of the migrant birds. The photographs are excellent, but with the exception of two pictures of Mackenzie valley gardens, they follow the text in the emphasis on winter conditions.

In a book with such a broad scope, a reader familiar with certain areas can usually find factual errors, and in finding them, tends to look upon the rest of the book with distrust. The converse should also be true: if errors are few concerning areas known first-hand, there are likely to be as few elsewhere. Happily, the latter case applies to Mr. Calder's book. Nevertheless, a few errors occur: The western islands are called the "Franklin Islands" (p. 51), whereas actually they have no group name; it is implied that *pingos* occur in the Barrens northeast of Yellowknife (p. 82); "icebergs" do not occur in Queen Maud Gulf (p. 106); the statement that Fort Good Hope is colder than the High Arctic is incorrect (p. 260), for although Good Hope may have recorded a lower temperature, means of daily temperatures or annual extremes clearly indicate colder conditions in the Queen Elizabeth Islands; and the increase in the mean winter temperatures in (west) Greenland is only half of the 10°C stated.

One wonders about the author's optimism concerning northern settlement and his use of the term "settler." North of the treeline, white residents can scarcely be called "settlers," for few would be there if they were not supported by an "Outside" organization, be they missionaries, policemen, administrators, doctors, militia, traders or, even yet, mining employees.

Ritchie Calder's enthusiasm, his evident liking of the north, his admiration of its people and his lack of prejudice are obvious qualities behind his simple, effective prose, and make the book enjoyable no less to northerners than to others.

ALEXANDER BEGG'S RED RIVER JOURNAL and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-70. Edited with an introduction by W. L. Morton. The Publications of the Champlain Society, XXXIV, Toronto, 1956.

Reviewed by Douglas Kemp

IF one may judge by the amount of material being published there is a lively and growing interest in the drama which preceded Manitoba's admission into the Confederation and particularly in the life of Louis Riel. That interest will undoubtedly be quickened by Professor Morton's work of editing and introducing *The Red River Journal of Alexander Begg*. The editing of this Champlain Society volume presented Professor Morton the vehicle which would convey his own well-measured thoughts on the events with which the journal is concerned. The volume throughout reflects the high scholarship and sensitivity of its editor.

The journal as such will be new to most but many will have some knowledge of its contents since it formed the basis of Begg's *The Creation of Manitoba* and was used extensively by A. S. Morton in his *A History of Western Canada to 1870-71*. Alexander Begg was a journalist-historian, if one may have the temerity to appose the titles, who took full advantage of his presence in the Red River Settlement at the time of the troubles to make a daily record of the events as he saw them or heard of them. The daily entries in the journal which cover the period from November 16, 1869 to July 23, 1870, make up one of the best of the contemporary accounts of the Resistance, but of equal value are the copies of the many related documents which Begg transcribed so carefully. The editor with notable historical perspective has chosen thirty-two contemporary documents for inclusion as a complement to those in the journal. In them one hears speak the French leaders, the French historian, the "other side," and the church, both Catholic and Protestant; and one reads factual information from the newspapers. The editor's scholarly footnotes clearly illuminate these sections of the volume. The Champlain Society is to be congratulated for making readily available so much source material.

For this reviewer, however, the editor's lucidly written introduction to the volume is of first importance. Professor Morton has again made a contribution to the published history of the Canadian West which is unmarked by the emphasis of sectional grievance. It has been traditional to accent the sacrifice of the interests of the West to those of central Canada and to decry the bungling administration of federal affairs in the West. The interpretations of the métis risings of 1869-70 and of 1885 have most often reflected the two-fold tradition. That Professor Morton shunned

Mr. Kemp is a high-school teacher, keenly interested in the history of the West.

the established pattern was to be expected because he has long been opposed to its use. His account of the causes, the course and the outcome of the Resistance is new in that they are seen to develop through seven well-defined phases. The distinguishing events of each phase are fully delineated and the transitional factors are clearly identified. Louis Riel and the métis are portrayed with deep understanding and sympathy but with historical objectivity. In all, this is a presentation that will be welcomed by the Professor's colleagues in the teaching profession, by the student of history, and by the general reader with an interest in the story of the West.

LIVING OFF THE COUNTRY, by Bradford Angier. Stackpole Co., Harrisburg, Penn. 241 pages. $5.00 in U.S.

Reviewed by Clarence Tillenius

MARK TWAIN, recounting how starvation once forced him to devour his boots, maintained that in his opinion the holes tasted the best.

Bradford Angier, in his book subtitled "How to Stay Alive in the Woods" thinks that boots of commercially tanned leather would scarcely repay the labour of chewing, but adds that rawhide is high in protein and that as food an animal's skin is equal to a like quantity of lean meat.

This is only one of a multitude of suggestions Mr. Angier has compiled for the study of men who may at some time find themselves in the woods with no other resources than those to be gathered from the country around them. There is much useful information in this book despite an occasional tendency to long-windedness, exampled by such passages as the following, discussing footwear: ". . . It is not to be presumed that we do not all have our own rightful preferences, but the subject of footwear is such a fundamental one that perhaps a few specific observations may be helpful for personal evaluation in the light of your own experiences. Feet are . . . vulnerable . . . because the frigidity which reaches them by conduction is not only directly chilling, but is also indirectly so as a result of the condensation it causes." This choice of words, while probably earning high praise for a compiler of government directives, seems a trifle pompous when addressed to a man presumably about to pit his life against a hostile wilderness.

However, this may be only a case of sour grapes on the part of the reviewer. Certainly the book covers a wide range of possible situations and methods of overcoming difficulties which a man might encounter in the wilds. Listed also are numerous possible sources of food—even to the strategy for taking a fresh kill away from a bear. Here the author advises a degree of caution, a piece of advice which experienced outdoorsmen are likely to regard as not unreasonable. Though a few of the situations covered may seem far-fetched, there is no question that a man going into the wilderness, if he had firmly by heart all the information that Mr. Angier makes available to him here, would have a very good chance of coming out in as good shape as he went in.

Solicitude for this individual's welfare is probably the reason the author, a man of experience, urges him to buy one or—better still—two copies of this book to include in his survival kit as a 'portable memory.' This is undeniably sound advice. One cannot help thinking, though, that the author by some judicious tightening of the text might have cut its weight—important in a survival kit—by one third.

Mr. Tillenius, artist and author, has spent much time in the wilds studying natural history.

NORTH AMERICAN HEAD HUNTING, by Grancel Fitz. Oxford University Press, Toronto, 188 pages, $5.50.

Reviewed by Calvin Rutstrum

In my ballistics-conscious youth, when I hunted big game over the continent for sport, I would have read these episodes most avidly. Subsequent research, wildlife study, and other interests, which keep me in the wilderness six months each year, where I visit with many guides, and observe the conduct of sportsmen in season, have altered my perspective for books which emotionally convey the pseudologic and subterfuge that influence the wanton destruction of our wildlife.

The writer labours to vindicate his killing, and seems to crave adulation. He derides, by example, a lady opposed to the destruction of wildlife, because she has chicken on her table; his apparent logic being that because we eat meat, we are compelled to lower our wilderness and cultural values to the abattoir level. He claims that hunting has given him "some of Nature's eternal truths" but evinces none apparent to the reader.

In his zeal to exalt the sportsmen, he avoids the backwoods knowledge that guides now almost invariably coddle their wards into positions for shots by every possible conveyance. Back home such "passive gymnastics" are coloured with athletic prowess. He gives no hint of such truths as that a six-year-old boy can flush a family of grizzlies and send them stampeding over the nearest hill for cover, or that the famous Martin Johnson walked out into the tropical night and shooed a number of lions from a bait carcass to reset his photographic flash guns. These, of course, would fail to beguile the reader of head hunting.

Mr. Rutstrum, author of "Way of the Wilderness" is a specialist in outdoor life and hunting.

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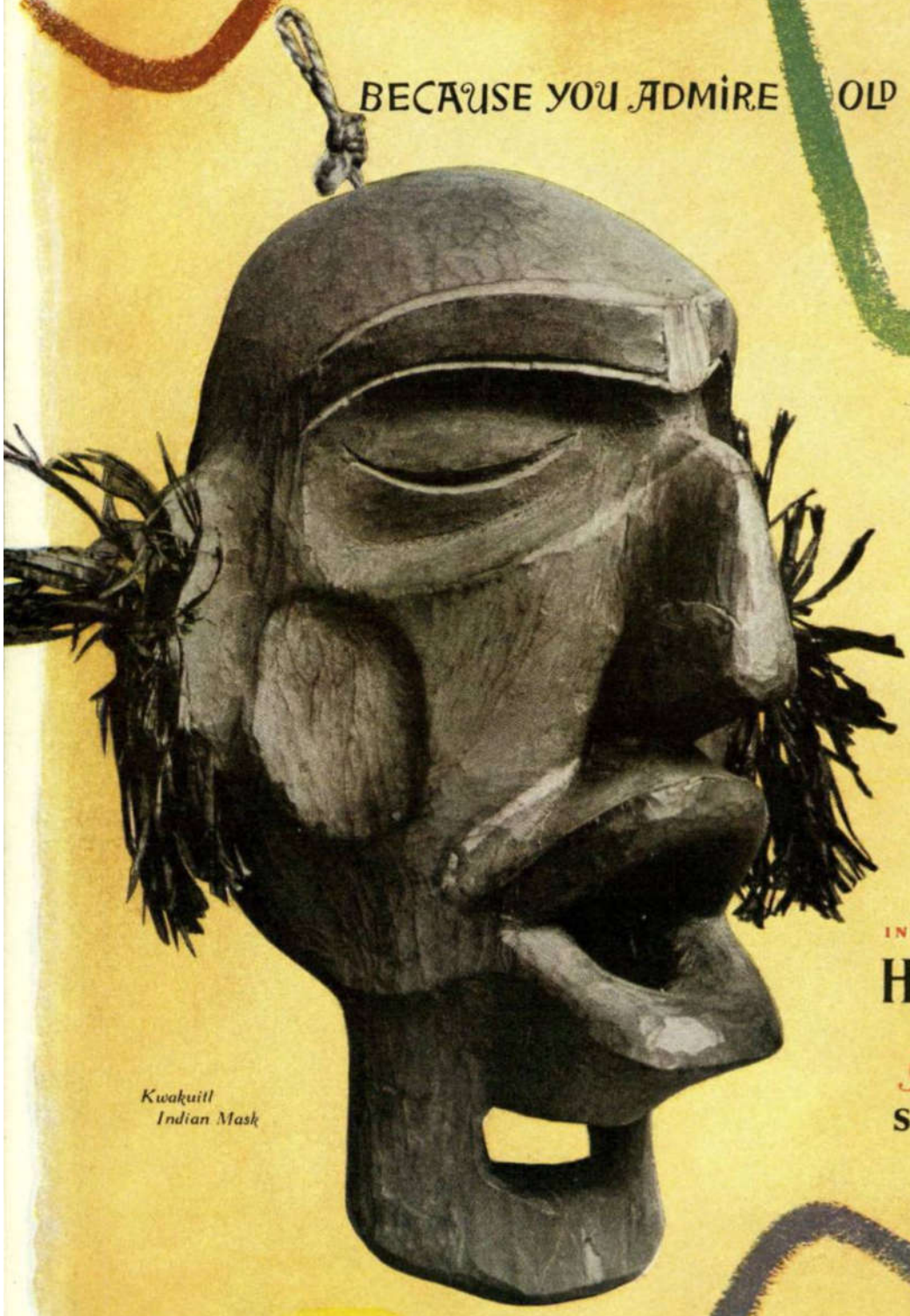

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